

# Reinhard Heydrich

## A Life of Action





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TRADITION



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(March 7th, 1904 - June 4th, 1942)

## *Foreword*

**O**n the occasion of Reinhard Heydrich's 110th birthday anniversary, a summary of the speeches, writings and documents by and about him with illustrations. In addition, the program of the State funeral digitized from official documents of the Third Reich.

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# *Reinhard Heydrich: Changes in our struggle*



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## *I. Changes in the form of combat*

**A**s everywhere in the life of nature, the life of peoples also consists of an eternal struggle between the strongest, the noblest, the racially superior and the lower, the subhuman. However, the way in which this battle is waged is subject to constant change. This form of battle depends above all on who currently has the upper hand.

The struggle of our leader and the movement began at a time of the camouflaged rule of subhumanity, which was on the way to achieving open, brutally all-destructive rule through Bolshevism. This opponent could not be defeated outside the state. From the outside, an internal reconstruction of the state and the people was hardly possible. So the leader set his followers the first immediate goal to be achieved: "the conquest of external state power."

The means to this end were therefore inevitably those of the opponent and therefore initially relatively external: elections, meetings, organizing the masses, and organizing them more tightly than the opponent did.

The party itself, as the motor of this electoral following, was a believing community of like-minded, inspired people. The belief was in the achievement of the immediate goal set by the Führer and the associated destruction of the visible parts of the opponent, his organizational work, his party, trade unions, etc.

As the pace of the battle with this well-prepared opponent was incredibly fast, the party's fighting community had little time to grasp the principles of the world view proclaimed by the Führer in all their depth and to make them clear to the new combatants who were constantly joining them.

When the immediate goal was suddenly reached, most of his fellow fighters suddenly thought that the enemy had disappeared altogether with the destruction of the opposing organizations. They looked for him and could no longer find him, as he had mostly fallen into line. This led to a situation that unfortunately still persists for many today: Unable to find the opponent in his new positions, they dissipate their energies in pointless, line-less personal illegalities. In doing so, they damage the leader's idea and at the same time demonstrate that they are still far from grasping the immensity of the idea itself and the tasks associated with it.

**Unfortunately, in reality they have only seen and fought against the opposing parties. You are not aware that these parties were only the most favorable outward manifestation of spiritual forces that are fighting Germany in the Führer and the NSDAP, that want to wipe out Germany with all its strong forces of blood, spirit and soil.**

The same fighters in the movement naturally remained loyal to the Führer in the years of struggle before the seizure of power and followed him faithfully, despite or precisely because the enemy dissolved the National Socialist organizations, banned the newspapers and took off the uniforms. They all unconsciously felt that the power of the state leadership at the time was ineffective against their faith and ideological mindset. And now that the enemy's organizations have been destroyed, they no longer remember their own experiences.

**Every organization is nothing without the forces that animate it in terms of ideas.**

If the opposing organizations are now smashed or even just in the process of being reshaped, this means for us that only the form of struggle will change. The driving forces of the enemy will always remain the same: world Jewry, world Freemasonry and a largely political clergy that abuses religious beliefs. In its many ramifications and

They persist in their goal of destroying our people with its blood, spiritual and ground forces.

We need to recognize that the battle has become deeper. It can no longer be fought by technical means alone.

We must learn to recognize the enemy from the history of the last millennia. We will then suddenly see that today, for the first time, we are taking the enemy by the roots of his power. Is it any wonder that he is fighting back more fiercely? That he is trying to use his centuries of experience in battle to the full?

**We must recognize that these opponents cannot be eliminated merely by an external takeover of the state apparatus, for they are present with their cross-connections in all branches of our national life and the state structure.** We must calmly realize that up until the last few years, the enemy was well on the way to systematically eroding the character and spirit of the German people, poisoning them and leaving them with nothing but a Nordic face.

We fighters must come to this realization: We need years of fierce fighting to finally push back and destroy the enemy in all areas and to secure Germany both physically and mentally against new incursions by the enemy.

Unfortunately, there are also some among us, the SS, who are often unaware of this great long-term goal. When, after the seizure of power, all visible opposition had disappeared, when the battle of wits began, they lacked the tools to recognize the full extent of the enemy.

It will be explained to you here in further episodes that there are two prerequisites for the successful continuation and completion of the battle:

**The correct recognition of the opponent in his deepest essence and the unified view of one's own tasks, but also of one's own mistakes, with all the prerequisites and consequences.**

As in any real battle, there are clearly only two options:

*"Either we overcome the opponent for good, or we perish."*

## *II. The visible opponent*

**It must be said in advance that the opponent cannot be dealt with exhaustively here.** It can only provide suggestions and tips to sharpen our view of the opponent.

In order to overcome it, we must learn to recognize its changing manifestations and its means of struggle. In order to assess it accurately, we must not be deceived by the multiplicity of apparently feuding groups with their divergent programs. They are all only skillful subdivisions of the great opponents. They are intended to serve as outposts or as a catch-all organization. Therefore, if Freemasonry was mentioned alongside Judaism, it was only for the sake of better understanding. In truth, Freemasonry is a special-purpose organization of Judaism, so that we can ultimately regard the Jews and the political clergy (called Jesuits in its most pronounced form) as the basis of all opponent groups.

These opponents wage their battle both in a visible, detectable form and in a camouflaged and not immediately visible form. Let us first try to deal in broad strokes with the recognizable actions and activities of the opponent.

### **a) Political abuse of the churches**

Above all, it is important for us to recognize in good time the anti-state and anti-people intentions and effects of the confessional battles that are once again taking place in Germany. Originally, the churches were to be servant mediators between God and man. As their founders proclaimed, the kingdom of the churches was "not to be of this world".

However, a completely political and worldly ambitious priesthood has bent the teachings of its founder. Today they all claim that they and only their church have the general authority of God for this mediating role. Regardless of whether they are justified in making this claim or not, they all derive their worldly political actions from this authority. Not enough that for centuries they have endeavored to destroy the blood and spiritual values of our people, they have pretended to preserve these values by adopting the outward forms and today claim to be the guardians of these values. Instead of being truly selfless mediators, they have conquered one worldly position of power after another by protecting ecclesiastical matters.

However, in order to secure and reinforce these secular positions, the supporters of the churches were organized politically. Before the seizure of power, the political secularism of the party (Zentrum, Bayrische Volkspartei) came to the fore in its pure form.

character is clearly expressed. Today, earlier associations founded in wise foresight as catch-all organizations etc. have already become the successors of the parties (Catholic Action etc.). The political penetration of all areas of our national life is demanded and striven for here in ecclesiastical disguise. While the German ecclesiastical press denies the political character of these organizations, the foreign voices of the same churches openly admit it. The best example of this presumption of a secular nature is probably the position of the churches and the attempt to sabotage the sterilization law and racial legislation. In order to expand their secular sphere of influence, after the takeover the church began to train non-priestly assistants, the so-called laity, on an enormous scale. In hundreds of retreat houses, they were "exercised", as the name suggests. In other words, everything must be mechanized as much as possible so that those concerned do not notice how all their inherited strengths of blood and spirit are systematically bent or killed off.

In National Socialism, the Führer finally created unity in a large community after centuries. This was only possible because in National Socialism he resurrected the inherited foundations of our people. The secular ambition of the political clergy had not taken this into account. However, as an open political or social split was not possible in order to save the position, the old church dispute suddenly had to be revived under the motto: "The confessions are in danger." Today, mistrust and doubt are being brought into the community of the people united by the leader and attempts are being made to sow discord in the party and the state.

This battle is supposedly being waged against godlessness to save Christian virtues and preserve "German" culture. However, if you look at the political leadership corps of clergymen, of whom the devout followers of their church take it for granted that they have lived these "endangered" virtues, it is disappointing to realize that these prerequisites are not met.

**On the contrary, mountains of documents show how mendacious the moral and cultural basis of this corps of leaders is in many cases, as well as the slogan of their struggle. In truth, they are not fighting positively for the preservation of religious and cultural values (which are not in danger at all), but are continuing their old bitter struggle for the secular domination of Germany.**

## **b) Judaism**

The Jew has always been the mortal enemy of all Nordic-led and racially healthy peoples. Its goal was and remains the domination of the world by a more or less visible Jewish upper class. To achieve this goal, any means and any form of organization will do, no matter how stupid and ridiculous it may look on the outside. The path always remains the same. Every nation that, in times of political and blood weakness, allowed immigration and, above all, a later blood mixture of Jews, was systematically decomposed. The decomposition of the blood resulted not only in racial bastardization but also in a slow blurring of the distinct racial identity of the "host people". This also enabled a creeping penetration of all areas of national life and a systematic spiritual poisoning. For example, in the Middle Ages in England and here in Germany, the guilds and building societies were turned into purely Jewish Freemasonry through the complete penetration of Jewish customs and basic Jewish elements.

While in earlier centuries Judaism conquered the key positions at the princely courts, such as treasurers and political advisors (who were often disguised as court jesters), the aristocratic German upper class, which for the most part had a good racial basis, was decomposed until the World War. Skillful money marriages and the nobility, unfortunately lent by many princes to their Jewish financial backers, bent the upper class, which had not yet been completely ousted from leadership, so that the Marxist and Bolshevik revolts, again developed and led by Jews, could easily overcome them.

After the seizure of power, racial legislation severely restricted the direct influence of Judaism within certain limits. However, in his tenacity and single-mindedness, the Jew only sees this as a limitation. Initially, the only questions for him are: How can the old position be regained, and how can I work to the detriment of Germany? In the assessment of Judaism's way of fighting, a distinction must be made between the Jewish organizations that work openly as Jews and the aid and special-purpose associations led by the Jewish world organization.

The Jews living in Germany are divided into two groups, the Zionists and the Assimilationists (who characteristically call themselves German Jews). Although the Zionists hold a strong racial viewpoint and strive to create their own Jewish state by emigrating to Palestine, one should not be deceived about the Jews' fundamentally anti-ethnic attitude. The assimilationists deny their Jewish race by either claiming to be German, insisting on their long years of residence, or claiming to be Christian after having been baptized. Above all, it is these assimilationists who, with all kinds of declarations of loyalty and with the insistence peculiar to their race

attempt to overturn the National Socialist principles. They also tried to take advantage of the announcement of general conscription. The associations led by former officers on leave of absence (Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten and Verband nationaldeutscher Juden) had left no stone unturned after the promulgation of the law to achieve the inclusion of Jews in the Wehrmacht.

**Although the individual Jew, who is not at all interested in German conscription, shows no particular inclination to take on the demands of military life voluntarily, he was forced to volunteer by the harsh actions of the association leaders for political reasons.**

**While here, in order to break the Aryan law, the Jew behaves in a tremendously patriotic manner, the Jewish boycott wave and the foreign press led by Jewish emigrants continue to roll against Germany without restriction.**

The Masonic lodges and related organizations, which are also under Jewish leadership, have the sole purpose of organizing people in a seemingly harmless social form and making them useful for the purposes of Judaism. There are corresponding organizations for all forms of government and professions. No matter who governs, a form of their lodge always fits the current form of government. In times of liberalism and democracy, the humanitarian lodges were in the foreground, in times of national governments the so-called national lodges. If Bolshevism had broken through, the workers' lodges would have been in the lead.

The methods used to stultify and control people are strangely similar to those used in the retreat centers of the political priesthood. Through the most varied exercises of this mechanization, one German blood and spiritual characteristic after another is attempted to be killed and turned off. Admission to the higher degrees thus guarantees a blind subservience that is not disturbed by any racial instinct. Moreover, this blind subservience to unknown and secret superiors is demanded in the lodge in stark contrast to the self-evident principles of a healthy national and state life. This obedience is reinforced by an oath framed with gruesome Jewish customs.

The fact that Bolshevism is one of the most important creations of Judaism will hopefully be understood by the most oblivious fellow citizens on the basis of the experiences of recent years and decades. There is probably no need to go into its dangers here.

### **The Aryan law did not banish the danger of Judaism for Germany.**

The Jewish special-purpose organizations with all their connections to their international leadership are still working on the destruction of our people and all its values. All the branches of our national life, such as art, science, economy, etc., which the Jew has almost completely penetrated with his ideas, are still far from being free of the enemy as a result of the fulfillment of more necessary immediate tasks. Here are the surreptitious ways in which he tries to expand his sphere of influence step by step through millions of channels. His work is made easier by the fact that there are still people (the churches even promote this attitude) who are only forced to recognize the Aryan law and do not want to grasp the basic racial ideas.

While a part of the German people is already beginning to become indifferent to the Jews after two years of the National Socialist revolution, we see on the part of the Jews a tenacious, eternally unchanging pursuit of their goal, which is always only: the domination of the world and the destruction of the Nordic peoples.

### *III. The camouflaged opponent*

In contrast to the visible opponent, the camouflaged opponent is not organizationally tangible. He works illegally; we can perhaps call him the invisible apparatus of the great opponents already mentioned. Its aim is to destroy the unity of the leadership in the state and party in order to make it impossible to achieve the ideological tasks of National Socialism. The people should become reserved and insecure towards the leadership, the leaders should become nervous and distrust each other.

To this end, there is a network of cross-connections to almost all parts of the state apparatus, public life and the movement. On the one hand, this system of channels informs the enemy of the impending danger. In this way, he is informed in good time of all prepared state measures, orders and laws. On the other hand, the same channel system serves the task of preparing countermeasures that are important for the enemy. Some of the organs of this channel system work in a deliberately treacherous manner, while others unconsciously abuse their personal weaknesses.

The main supporters of this opposing, deliberately treacherous work are some hostile elements remaining in the state apparatus, who, acting one hundred and ten percent, immediately joined in. The Civil Service Act passed them by. In the

Faith in the authenticity of their conviction they were left in their positions as experts.

While we National Socialists understand bureaucracy in the good sense of the word to mean the perfect exactness of the excellent and smooth working of a business and administrative apparatus, many soulless and hostile elements misuse the same bureaucracy to hinder, obstruct and deflect our National Socialist tasks.

The ramifications of this network are monstrous. It is impossible to give a complete list here. The layman can only recognize the ramifications by their effects:

Attempts are being made to turn off legislative measures. Attempts are being made to cut funding for areas that are vital to the movement and the state.

At universities, attempts are made to bend National Socialist ideas in favor of liberalism through "purely scientific and factual" treatment.

In prehistoric research, attempts are being made to play the leadership of the excavations into the hands of one-sided, non-ethnic elements, so that the claim of the "lack of culture" of our ancestors can continue to be upheld without danger.

By attempting an anti-Nazi personnel policy, the aim is to regain important key positions in the state if a National Socialist law is passed, its implementation is sabotaged and back doors can be opened through implementing regulations. Attempts are also made to gain influence over well-meaning National Socialist men through social networking (invitations, clubs, etc.). The ardent will of National Socialist superiors to adapt German legislation and German administration to the nature and sentiments of the people is distorted in the implementation and thus attempts to bring these National Socialist men into opposition to the movement.

In order to deflect a measure by the Führer or one of his appointees, or to bring down inconvenient and dangerous organizations of the movement and the state, they use the means of systematic rumour-mongering and press incitement. Thousands of channels are used to whisper to the authorities what "dangers" the leader's policies are allegedly threatened by these measures or these organizations, and at the same time a wave of complaints is launched. The diversity of these complaints often reveals the enemy's channel system in a flash. On command, usually one of the Masonic Swiss or

"German" émigré newspapers, the attack is completed by a systematic series of articles containing the worst lies. At the same moment, the apparatus for exploiting the character weaknesses of individuals is set in motion. It is all too easy for people to believe untrue and unbelievable rumors rather than objective facts. Aware of these weaknesses and people's addiction to gossip, the rumours are passed on to personalities who have a certain sympathy or antipathy for these organizations and thus ensure their further spread in a positive or negative sense.

All too quickly, a preconceived opinion is created, which then forms the basis for the fulfillment of the opponents' momentary goals.

In this way, attempts are gradually being made to break down the fabric of the state and drive a wedge between the leadership and the followers. By underlining the tasks that have not yet been accomplished, the deeds and achievements of the first two years are to be made forgotten and the leader and his followers are to be gradually deprived of any positive work, of the people's trust. We must see this work and tactics of the enemy in order to be able to counter it.

The following sentence from an opponent's secret report may show how the opponent wants to see the situation in Germany and which path appears to be right for him:

"The situation in Germany is characterized by the attempt to bring the NSDAP into line by the bureaucracy and other secret opponents of National Socialism."

#### ***IV. Our task***

Recognizing the opponent was discussed as a major prerequisite of the fight. We now know his goal, his changing methods and his new manifestations.

What necessities are now necessary for us, the movement, in order to do justice to the changes in the struggle?

First of all, we must be clear that the state apparatus, the state police in particular, cannot fight this battle alone. The police can only deal with the outwardly legally tangible anti-state attitude of the opponent and is therefore more an organ of defense and resistance. Ideological opponents can only be decisively defeated in the intellectual struggle of ideology. After the first months of the revolutionary conquest of state power, a stop was therefore put to the synchronization. When many fellow fighters realized the necessary change

of the struggle, the word was coined from revolution to evolution, from the externally conquered position of power to the spiritual and ideological conquest of all.

What demands does this new phase of the battle place on us, the SS?

**We must work on ourselves. We must anchor and adhere to the eternal principles of the world view given to us by the Führer with unprecedented self-discipline. First of all, we must align ourselves mentally so that everyone thinks the same way about every opponent, rejecting them on principle without making selfish and compassionate personal exceptions. In order to preserve our nation, we must be tough on our opponents, even at the risk of hurting the individual opponent in human terms and possibly being labeled as unruly brutes by some certainly well-meaning people. If we as National Socialists do not fulfill our historical task because we were too objective and human, we will still not be credited with mitigating circumstances. It will simply be said that they did not fulfill their task before history. If someone is our conscious opponent, then he can only be subjectively and without exception be put down as an opponent. If, for example, every German were to exempt only the "one decent" Jew or Freemason in his circle of acquaintances from the fight out of false compassion, that would be 60 million exceptions.**

We must work on ourselves in terms of character and performance. We must deepen the good elements of our German heritage. We must be fair in all our hardness, we must be the most loyal, and there must be no better comradeship than ours. But we must also eradicate the damage and shortcomings in our own ranks with as much severity as possible. In order to prove the correctness of the principles of our community and our selection, we must gradually become the best in all areas. **Within the framework of compulsory military service, we must provide the nation's armor bearer with the best recruits, we must always be among the best in sports. In the professions, too, it should become the rule that the most politically aware man is also the best professional, both in examinations and in practice. The pure We have to make the "non-political" expert-only approach dispensable through our performance.**

We must also expand our knowledge of our ancestors or, in most cases, acquire it in the first place. It is the knowledge of all the values that God has given our people: Our blood, our species, our true historical past. This also includes our ancient folklore, which has its roots in times that, contrary to the claims of many, date back far before the turn of time and even further before the time that is so important to the

Germanism so significant in the 8th century. We must set an example of the eternal principles given by the Führer and try to win over those people in a positive way who, in the first few months, did not want to participate in an outward conformity of character. All these people, who were unable to find the content of the idea due to formal errors, must be conquered personally, man by man, through our achievements and the power of the belief that we, as a National Socialist movement, may be the smallest link between the high cultural past of our people and further millennia of German national history.

**And we, the SS, want to be the ideological shock troop and the protection squad of the Führer's idea and at the same time, in fulfilling the tasks of the state police, insofar as we serve in it, an internal political protection corps of the National Socialist state.**

# *Reinhard Heydrich: Combating enemies of the state*



*published in Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft, ed. Karl August Eckhardt,  
Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt Hamburg, 1936*

**I**n the excellent election results and the German people's declaration of confidence in the Führer

*This is because experience has taught us that the old great opponents, who, as we know, are not only to be found or have been found among the German people, will now double and triple their efforts to destroy or at least hinder the Führer's work. After all, the election results have shown them that their previous work among the people has not been as successful as they had hoped.*

National Socialism can only assert itself completely and secure and maintain the National Socialist idea in the entire nation if the fight against the enemies of the state is successful. A battle is only successful if the enemy is and remains permanently incapacitated. In war, it is not the number of battles won but the outcome of the war that is decisive. Whether the battle or the war ends successfully, however, depends on whether the opponent is correctly recognized in his method, his means, his mental and physical condition and whether he is fought correctly.

If the fight against the enemies of the state is to be discussed in an understandable way, it is therefore necessary to consider the means and methods of the enemy and one's own resistance.

### *I. The enemy of the state*

The liberalist past was based on the state and not on the people. It thought of the state as a separate entity, detached from the people. If it then wanted to define the enemy of the state in concrete terms, it appeared as the enemy of those who controlled the state apparatus. The enemy of the state changed depending on whether the government was German nationalist, centrist or Marxist. National Socialism no longer emanates from the state, but from the people. The Führer had already stated this in "Mein Kampf". He described the state as

"means to an end", as "an institution for the respective people in question" for the preservation and promotion of a "community of physically and mentally similar living beings<sup>1</sup>".

*Accordingly, we National Socialists only know the enemy of the people.* He is always the same, he remains eternally the same. It is the enemy of the racial, ethnic and spiritual substance of our people. Enemies of the people were those forces that led the state in the past and fought us National Socialists as enemies of the state. So we experienced the curious fact that we were branded enemies of the state while the enemies of the people were in government. The owners of the state power apparatus at the time, enemies of the people in the truest sense of the word, were able to rob the German people of their national strength in all areas of life and at the same time fight us National Socialists, who fought for the preservation of our people and made the greatest sacrifices, apparently formally in the right, as enemies of the state. However, we finished off this system by its own means. We adjusted to its rules, we were "legal", as the constitution wanted us to be, and used the constitutional means to legally destroy a system that was ready to give itself up at any time without inner substance, if only it was done legally.

Our worldview has taught us, and we have learned from our struggles for power, that only the leadership of a state *for which enemies of the state and enemies of the people are the same* is right. That is the case today. Thus we understand the enemies of the state in the National Socialist state to be the enemies of the people. The fact that the enemies of the people are at the same time the fiercest opponents of the state apparatus occupied by National Socialism, that the two, enemy of the state and enemy of the people, can no longer fall apart, results from the fact that the state is the instrument of the people.

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<sup>1</sup> Adolf Hitler : "Mein Kampf." 137th edition, page 436.

under its most noble representation, the movement, is that, in the words of the leader, it is not the state that commands us, but we who command the state.

National Socialism, which as the spirit of the movement led the struggle for power from the basis of worldview, also broke with the liberalist fight against the enemy of the state. According to liberalist thinking, only the anti-state action and the organization of the enemy of the state as the carrier of this action were fought.

National Socialism is interested in the spiritual powers of these opponents. It wants to recognize and target them. We know today that they are always the same: The Jew, the Freemason and the political clergyman. Their goals are the same, their organizational forms adapt to the respective legal possibilities. Their struggle is directed against our state form and party form and against the spiritual foundations of the idea. The details of the opponent's tactics have been discussed in detail elsewhere<sup>2</sup>

The effective *fight against the enemy* must be based on the realization that all *visibly* emerging opponents are merely the external feelers of the eternally identical, dangerous spiritual forces. They are sent forward to probe the terrain, they are guided according to **uniform points of view**. Experience has shown that the enemy always proceeds very cleverly and it can be assumed that he will try by all means to penetrate the **key position in the state apparatus**. From here he can better pursue his goals, he will then know the strength and weak points of the apparatus fighting him and, above all, will be able to turn measures against him.

## *II. The bearers of the fight against the enemy of the state*

Knowledge of the enemy leads to very specific consequences for the organization, methods and selection of people for the institution that must take on the fight against the enemies of the state.

1. *The state police* must be structured in such a way that, on the one hand, it does not break up the large administration that maintains the state. This implies a certain connection between the state police and the general administration. On the other hand, it must be a self-contained organization with the possibility of a direct command and reporting channel. This is necessary in the event that the enemy succeeds in penetrating the administrative apparatus in a clever way. Furthermore, it is necessary to keep the working group as small as possible for special tasks (e.g. defense) in order to prevent the

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Heydrich : "Die Wandlungen unseres Kampfes", 1935.

secrets to be kept become known. These requirements are currently fulfilled for Prussia by the law of February 10, 1936.

2. *The human material* for this fighting state police must be of a special kind. The very necessary administrative and criminalistic training in itself is not enough. The best specialist in burglary need never become a suitable fighter against communism after years of practice. The purely technical ability is perhaps sufficient to catch an illegal functionary of the KPD, to establish the objective facts of the case. In addition, the fight against enemies of the state requires an unconditional grasp of the National Socialist idea and a comprehensive understanding of the enemy at its core. The men of the state police must therefore be absolutely aligned in their mental attitude. They must feel like a fighting corps. This is doubly necessary because experience teaches us that the individual is no match for this great, unified enemy and that the constant preoccupation with only negative things can only be sustained in the long run if the positive counter-values are balanced out by a corps-like community. This is also the reason why many state police officers are also † leaders or † men.

3. *The following applies to the method of fighting the opponent:*

- a) The ideological struggle against the foundations of the enemy can only be waged through the National Socialist idea and thus through the National Socialist movement.
- b) Based on ideological knowledge, the state police must recognize the forms of organization and the strategic and tactical intentions of the overall opponent:
  - to teach the bearers of the battle of ideas,
  - in order to create the tactical basis for the tactical and criminalistic detection and combating of individual enemies of the state and individual anti-state organizations.

4. *The Security Service.* The state police are supported in their tasks by the party intelligence organization, the Security Service of the Reichsführer SS, which does not have executive powers. This security service is a branch of the overall †, to which the Reich leadership of the NSDAP assigns the intelligence research and surveillance of the

ideological opponents of National Socialism. Naturally, the organization of the Security Service corresponds geographically to the organization of the general SS. The men of this security service are † - leaders and † - men of the overall †, who alternately have their commands in the security service and in the general SS. While on the one hand the state police tasks are of a tactical and executive nature, on the other the Security Service has the intelligence and research task of providing strategic foundations for the leadership of the movement and thus of the state. The necessary close cooperation between the movement's security service and the state police of the state is ensured by the fact that the Reichsführer SS as such is the supreme head of the security service and at the same time the deputy head of the secret state police, and that the head of the secret state police office under him is at the same time the head of the main security office.

To summarize, the following can be said:

National Socialism sees the enemy of the people in the enemy of the state. All manifestations of anti-state forces always lead back to the enemy of the people, are supported, directed and determined in their actions from here. The enemy of the people can only be properly combated if he is spiritually recognized in his methods and means. This task is fulfilled by the Secret State Police and the SS Security Service, which thus set an example of the unity between party and state in exemplary cooperation.

# *The speeches of Reinhard Heydrich*

## *German Police Day*

1941

The former state police, criminal investigation department and security service are still shrouded in the murmuring and whispering mystery of the political crime novel. In a mixture of fear and horror, and yet at home with a certain sense of security about their existence, the men of this work are often said to be brutal abroad, the sadistic inhumanity and heartlessness. At home and supported one understanding our task. There is nothing here, down to the smallest selfish wish, that we don't believe we can solve through the Secret State Police. So we are, to put it jokingly, variable from "girl for everything" to the "trash can of the empire".



However, anyone who takes the trouble to see the real work and to look for the people in the men who serve here will be amazed to see that, after the most painstaking, lengthy and difficult training, there are ideologically clear National Socialists here who, in a happy union of experienced practitioners, meticulous and logical scientists, militant political soldiers and decent, understanding people, master their task with great love for the Führer and for Germany.

In addition to many people being handed over to the Wehrmacht for front-line military service, there was also the security police deployment as part of the army, to a small extent as secret field police, but for the most part as special security police task forces with the aim of politically securing the occupied territories. Here, of course, all tasks are multiplied many times over by the fact that there is not a positively cooperating population, but a population that is at least uninvolved or - depending on the country's attitude - hostile. All this means an infinite reduction in the available manpower in the Reich territory and an unimaginably increased demand on individual performance. The work of the man of the Secret State Police

and the security service is a qualitatively conditioned, constant, quiet individual effort with an almost unbelievably small number of outstanding men. Outstanding quality is always demanded, but also achieved, in individual posts.

One important fact makes our men's work more difficult - in contrast to their comrades in the Wehrmacht at the front - apart from the good fortune of being allowed to do front-line service at all: the soldierly manliness of front-line soldiers can be crowned very quickly by public recognition, distinction and success given the speed of operational events. The political soldier on the "secret front", on the other hand, must remain silent, incredibly patient, often only serving other political factors, in the certainty that his deed may be publicly recognized very late, often never.

The security police and security service stand their ground according to the Führer's instructions, under the command of their Reichsführer-†. They only want one thing: to create and fight for Germany.

# *Declaration to the new protectorate government*

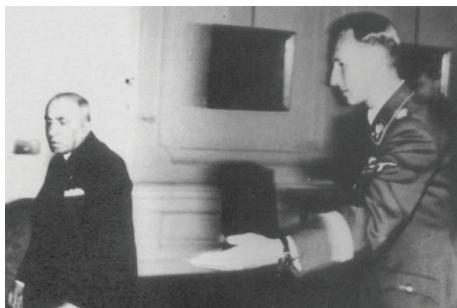
1941

The historical lack of development into an independent state.

The history of the Czech Republic and the period of the Republic itself consciously separated the population of Bohemia and Moravia from the organic geopolitical and historical affiliation to the empire. The

political and intellectual masterminds of the West, the plutocratic powers

in the guise of so-called Pan-Slavism - the Bolshevik powers promoted this erroneous education by all means and forced the formation of a recently developed, far too numerous, egotistical and ambitious intelligentsia. While in the world, especially in Central Europe, the battle for the basic elements of world views was already raging, while the Reich was already in a decisive struggle to shake off the same forces, the aforementioned development made Bohemia and Moravia one of the bastions most threatening to Europe against the Reich. The Führer, who - in his clairvoyant vision foresaw the development of events - sought to mobilize all forces for the decisive battle, therefore had to make a front in the interests of Europe against the forces and states that were endangering the liberation of Europe and thus their own freedom by misjudging their own history.



While these forces in Bohemia and Moravia were on the one hand engaged in an unprecedented rearmament of a material nature and a spiritual whipping up of the population as part of their leadership responsibility, they were on the other hand too cowardly to draw the military consequences from their previous behavior, namely: to fight in the fall of 1938. While President Dr. Háchá, wisely recognizing the historical events, found his way back to the Reich in terms of constitutional law and also for his own person, the government he appointed, and thus also the last government with a few personal changes, did not draw the same consequences.

which were also to be drawn internally from this external act. Thus, under the eyes of this government, a not insignificant resistance movement could arise, which was capable of disappointing the empire, but endangering Bohemia and Moravia in its entirety. The last government, despite an otherwise excellent knowledge of the situation in the region, failed to act out of incompetence or negligence or - as some prominent examples show - deliberately not combating this development.

Thus, after my appointment as Deputy Reich Protector, it was up to me to inform the President and to make up with a firm hand for what the Czech government had neglected to do in two and a half years. You, gentlemen, have a great, albeit difficult, task ahead of you. Your government really shows that you have recognized the problems in all their depth and are willing to do fundamental work. This work will take place on two levels: on the one hand, you will work closely with me and the State Secretary to form a leadership and working group based on mutual trust to solve all the tasks in this area. On the other hand, you will have the difficult task of changing the criminal development in the education and leadership of the Czech population from the ground up and certainly leading the Czech population to its best, often against misunderstanding and rejection. The focus will be on the correct and clear education of the youth.

The time of parliamentary decisions by the Council of Ministers, which prevent practical, active government and leadership work, has finally come to an end. Above all, it will be the task of the Chairman to maintain the unity and momentum of the new government in its important educational work. The smaller the ministries are in their management apparatus, the more active and successful the work will be. The prerequisite for mutual trust is that all tactics must be avoided in this narrow circle of trust; tactics are only used against opponents.

# *For the ceremonial reopening of the Rudolfinum in Prague as a German art site*

*on October 16, 1941*

Party comrades, honored guests!

As Deputy Reich Protector, I have the honor today of completing the renovation of the Rudolfinum in a ceremonial act of state, which the Reich Protector, Reich Minister Freiherr von Neurath, ordered on April 11, 1940, and which was announced at a party celebration on June 30 of the same year.

Let me start by soberly outlining the history, which conveys the fateful development of this area over the last few decades without romanticizing it.

In 1872, the Bohemian Savings Bank - at that time a completely German institution - to erect a "building dedicated to the fine arts and crafts" on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

Built between 1876 and 1884, this house of art was named "Rudolfinum" after the then Crown Prince Rudolf and ceremoniously opened on February 7, 1885. The Rudolfinum served its original purpose for 33 years:

The organization of German concert events: Men, such as Karl Muck, and the opera composer Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, who is still alive, took their way from here. The organ installed in the large concert hall was taken over by the greatest composer of the day, Anton Bruckner.

It served as a home for the Prague Conservatory, founded in 1911 by the "Society for the Promotion of Musical Art in Bohemia", one of the oldest German music education institutions of its kind. The exhibition and collection of works of art of the "Society of Patriotic Friends of Art" founded in 1796.

In October 1918, immediately after the founding of the former Czechoslovak Republic, the "Association for the Promotion of Musical Art" was forced to dissolve. The "Prague Conservatory" was Czechized and taken over by the state.



was taken over. The "Gesellschaft patriotischer Kunstfreunde" also had to leave the building with its art collections.

In April 1919, the Rudolfinum was confiscated and designated as the Chamber of Deputies. The first session of the Czech Parliament took place on May 26, 1920.

In 1921, on December 15, the "Bohemian Savings Bank" had to sell the building to the Czech state. The large concert hall was converted into the Chamber of Deputies and the organ located there was moved to the stadium hall in Brno. The organ console, which had been played by Anton Bruckner, was "smashed with an axe" to make way for a bust of Masaryk.

The last session of Parliament took place on December 16, 1938. And today we are solemnly united to finally consecrate this site of German art. At this moment, I hereby make these commitments:

for the artists to always be German artists in the sense of the Reich,

for us leaders: to pave the way for the creators and makers of art, to give them the idealistic and material conditions for a creative work detached from the day.

With this in mind, tomorrow at the castle I will present three German artists with the "Prize of the Reich Protector 1941" as a reward, incentive and help.

And now please delve with me briefly into the principles of the life of the peoples with regard to the interaction anchored in them: especially of art to politics, to race, but also to the character, the soul and the heart of the people of our nation.

Historical periods of true greatness and true inner content have always been followed by periods of true art and genuine skill. Historically and politically weak times allowed peoples to draw on the art of the greats of their time and give themselves the strength to overcome political decline. At the same time, some geniuses fought their way through and strengthened the impetus for new political life. Political pseudo-blooms, such as those of the late 19th century, usually also have a pseudo-bloom in art in their wake, because they transfer the deceptive and superficial nature of political activity to art. In times of cultural and ideological decline and rapid political change, it is all too easy for artists to take refuge in superficial forms: The poet into the overtoning of the elegance of language, the musician into the strictness of the laws of composition or into comfortable light music, the master builder, sculptor and painter into expressionism.

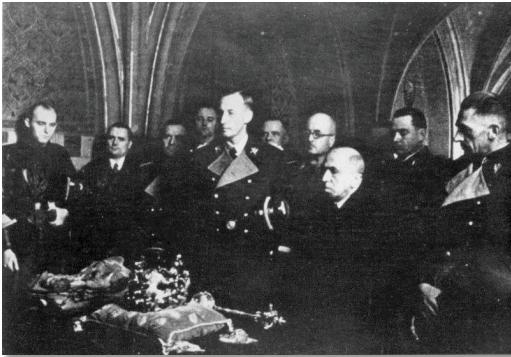
Out of material need, they unfortunately very often slip into dependence on the constantly changing political parties. The Jew has now recognized this danger for his own purposes. He has intensified it and made more and more art and culture alien to the folklore, the race, the heart and the soul of the people. In this region of Bohemia and Moravia, which is eternally bound to the Reich, the Jew has added a completely false tribal hatred to the depoliticization of art. He inculcated Czechity with the madness of statehood and blinded it to centuries of political experience with its natural integration into the empire. Finally, he tried to turn King Wenceslas, who in truth always recognized and represented the great meaning of belonging to the empire, into a sacred symbol against the empire and against the culture of the empire. When I, as Deputy Protector of the Reich, reproduce this place of care for the art of German culture, I am addressing a very serious warning to all artists and creators that, as Germans, they should create their works with all their heart and sincerity out of their innermost ideological beliefs. The masters and their works are not individual figures without blood or homeland, but people who consciously or unconsciously draw their strength from the feelings of their people and the fate of their region.

May the greatest artist and designer, the greatest German, Adolf Hitler, be an eternal role model for you all!

## *The Wenceslas tradition*

*November 1941*

**O**n November 19, 1941 at the ceremonial viewing of the coronation jewels in President Dr. Hácha received during the ceremony three of the seven keys into safekeeping. This symbolic act ends centuries of doubt and once again marks the Consequence of the Führer's decisive act of March 16, 1939.



This celebration is an occasion to recall the Wenceslas tradition in all its depth and to point out its historical significance for the relationship of this region to the empire in the past, present and future. After the emigration of a large part of the Germanic population, other peoples advanced into this area from the east, from which - over the centuries, in a strong mixture with the Germanic elements - the present population emerged. This advance was an east-west movement in terms of both mentality and political views. In the course of political and national development, it soon became necessary to find a clear relationship with the western and eastern neighbors. This initially led to the striving for independence and autonomy and resulted in a number of battles for self-assertion against the neighboring peoples. Culturally, a detachment from the East and a rapprochement with Western concepts had meanwhile developed. The geopolitical conditions forced the empire to seek help from its eastern and south-eastern neighbors at various times, resulting in a rational subordination and integration into the empire. From this point onwards, the population of Bohemia and Moravia lived for centuries (also in terms of their attitudes) in the dichotomy between East and West, the political conditionality of belonging to the Empire and the striving for independence. Time and again in the history of Bohemia and Moravia and its inhabitants, phenomena have played a role that we have also seen emerge fatefully in recent decades, indeed in recent weeks and months.

Unfortunately, it was a bad habit of these people to bow their heads and promise loyalty after military or political defeats, but to break their word and go back to their old ways when the leadership of the empire they had joined withdrew militarily in reliance on this word. In history, it is sometimes the kings and rulers themselves who commit treason, sometimes it is the vassals of the rulers who call for rebellion and treason, even against their own ruler, who was loyal to the leadership of the empire. In this sense, the fate of St. Wenceslas and his subsequent brother Boleslaus is the tragic example of this overall development, but also the historical symbol for the clear political consequences of the present and future. Wenceslas, recognizing the historical necessity, had finally joined the empire and thus for the first time took up position against the East. The rebels who, under the leadership of his brother Boleslaus, opposed Wenceslas's statesmanlike stance, misjudged the historical destiny of this region and its eternal interdependence with the empire, overthrew Wenceslas and his idea in good faith, murdered him themselves and, under Boleslaus, tried again to be a bastion against the West. Even then, fate and space were stronger. Boleslaus himself - in the course of his experiences and adventures - found his way back into the empire after battles against the East.

Hácha's decision in March 1939, which made the Führer's historically final decision possible, corresponds to the spirit of the genuine Wenceslas tradition. The rebels against the Reich from the September-October days of that year were judged not only because they did not grasp this Wenceslas tradition, but also because in breaking through old Eastern habits, practicing disloyalty, they stabbed the Reich in the back in order to turn the bastion against the East into one against the West. In doing so, they forgot that the leadership of the empire had to be warned by the experiences of history and prepared for the return of these phenomena. The Wenceslas tradition contains the realization that Bohemia and Moravia will only be great with the empire and always weak without it. However, it also shows us that the population - taking into account the presence of many German ancestors - finally sees the obligation to draw the consequences from this historical experience in terms of their inner attitude and in the education of their youth. In this way, the outward appearance of this ceremonial act in the Coronation Chapel becomes a binding guideline for the people of Bohemia and Moravia in the spirit of true Wenceslas tradition.

# *Speech at the German rally in the Prague Opera House*

**March 15, 1942**

**T**oday's ceremony has united us in two thoughts.

In memory of the historically decisive act of the Führer for the Reich and Bohemia-Moravia three years ago - and to express our gratitude to the fallen heroes.

Particularly in times of great sacrifice, German history demands the heroism of those who shape them, that we do not celebrate such days of remembrance in a narrow and small way, but always prove ourselves worthy of true greatness. In this sense, this celebration is an hour for us to look back, reflect, gather and look ahead, both historically and in human terms. Historically, we want to look back into the recent past of the decline and discord of the empire, which, as always - even in the long term - means times of hardship and weakness for this region and its people. We want to look further back, but always and again recall the successes and mistakes from the endless history of our empire and keep them alive in us as an eternal reminder for the future.



Whether it was the time of the gathering of Germanism, or in the struggle of the emperors and popes, or the time when the German people almost bled to death in the Thirty Years' War, supposedly for the good of the faith, or the last world war or the time of the struggle of the national socialist movement, Germany was always in danger when it was divided, seduced by foreigners, and gave up on itself. But Germany was always victorious and great when it found faith in itself, its strength, its superiority - without losing a clear sense of reality and the recognition and elimination of its own mistakes. The sacred belief in the providential strength of our people has always overcome difficult times, and the cool mind and irrepressible will have enabled the leadership to soberly master the perils.

From a historical point of view, March 15, 1939 was not only the fulfillment of the wishes of the German heart, but also the sober completion of a political necessity.

The great war we are now experiencing is the decisive battle for the existence of Greater Germany and Europe. Politically, economically and humanly, precisely because of its necessary sacrifices and burdens, it will contribute as a melting pot to deepening and completing the final integration of this area into the Reich. So today is, politically speaking, a day of grateful and respectful remembrance of that March 15, 1939, which laid the foundation and the beginning, both politically and legally, for that development and those tasks which we, together with the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia, are willing to drive forward in the interests of the Reich and to complete in accordance with the Führer's instructions.

Looking ahead, however, this day holds a human obligation for each and every one of us, especially in its connection to the commemoration of heroes. By sacrificing their lives, those fallen comrades sent a binding reminder to us, the living, to stand our ground tirelessly, especially in moments and times of combat and emotional stress, and to bravely overcome the small burdens of everyday life at home. In many people's hearts, pusillanimity insidiously creeps in. It is precisely then, thinking of our heroes and believing in our beloved Führer, that we must find the inner strength within ourselves again and again to use all our strength for victory, for the Führer and for Germany.

# *Speech to BDM, labor service and war relief service maids*

*Rudolfinum, Prague, March 17, 1942*

You girls and maidens!

Tonight you have spoken and sung a cross-section of all that you are able to do with your strength for the Führer and the German people in the war. Many a spoiled little doll has worked in your community and learned the sense of work and has become a proper German girl.

It is precisely on this militant and historically significant ground of Bohemia and Moravia that it seems right to me to point out those principles whose innermost realization is the prerequisite not only for your achievements, but for the future of German youth in general.

In earlier times, young people were initially superficial, pleasure-seeking and indifferent to the problems of the future of the nation and the empire. In later times - especially in the days of the youth league - the spiritual attitude of the youth became cramped and turned into self-conceited sectarianism. Today we are striving to have a youth that approaches problems with youthful ease and youthful verve from an inner ideological certainty and masters life without superficiality and frivolity with the aim of personal and objective achievement. Young people should take a serious and conscious view of the great problems of the kingdom without neglecting and forgetting their youthful cheerfulness and joy in the closeness of life, but conversely they should not get carried away with joy and overlook the seriousness and necessity of the great problems. In short: she should be National Socialist in her personal life.



This is not expressed by always talking only about ideology and political problems, but being a National Socialist is a question of character according to the Führer's example.

The basic elements of education are imparted through youth leadership, the teacher and the parental home. - However, they are deepened in the further development of the young person through the correct knowledge of himself, through critical self-examination and ultimately through self-discipline. In turn, its basic ideas are self-knowledge, the unvarnished and true recognition of one's own faults and the iron will to remedy these and overcome oneself. The main ideas of the educational content are the uncompromising purity of the German blood, the uncompromising striving for clarity of character, love of truth, modesty, pride that does not tolerate arrogance, healthy ambition that does not selfishly demand the highest performance and, last but not least, the striving for professional excellence.

But I would like to add one more thing for you, girls and maidens: For all your self-discipline and self-control, you must not militarize and harden in lockstep. The most beautiful thing about a woman - and especially a German woman - is her womanliness, her femininity, which in itself makes a woman beautiful. Guard your femininity in all your work and in all your actions. The war also denies young people a great many pleasures. Not only do you share in the tremendous experience of the greatest times of Germanness, but you can later realize with inner satisfaction that even in your youth you were allowed to help create, build and fight in the Führer's work, in the new Greater Germany, in the new Europe. And especially in this region, in Bohemia and Moravia, which was regained to the Reich in terms of constitutional and military law, in this region you have a special task to fulfill, whether you are Germans from this narrower region or come from the Greater German Reich, as role models, as convincing German people within the framework of the militant German community. And whether you fulfill your tasks in the countryside, in the office, in the city, in the narrower German area or in contact with the Czech inhabitants of this country, always be aware that much depends on the work, on the attitude of each one of you and thus much is contributed to the completion of the tasks that the Führer has set us all.

Wherever you are and wherever you stand and work, you must be the bearers of the idea, the role models of National Socialism in unshakeable faith in the Führer and in Germany. And so let us now commemorate him together, the

for you especially, German youth, German girls and maidens, building the future of the Reich to whom we owe everything: Adolf Hitler.

# *Farewell*

## *Heinrich Himmler's farewell speech*

*June 9, 1942, Berlin*

With the death of the Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, the Deputy Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia and Chief of the SD and the Security Police, the National Socialist movement has once again made a sacrificial contribution to our people's fight for freedom.

As inconceivable as it was for us to think that this radiant, great man would no longer be with us after barely reaching the age of 38 and fighting in the midst of his friends, as irreplaceable as his unique ability combined with a character of rare purity and a mind of penetrating logic and clarity is, we would not be acting in his spirit if we were not here at his coffin, the heroic thoughts of death and dying, which once moved our people at the death of their loved ones, will once again become our own.

In this spirit we want to celebrate in his honor, tell of his life, tell of his deeds, in order to then return the material hall to the eternal cycle of all being on this earth and then continue to fight as he lived and fought, in order to try to fill his place.

Reinhard Heydrich was born on May 7, 1904 in Halle an der Saale. He attended elementary school and a reform grammar school. Already in his school years, which after 1918 fell into the time of the great collapse of our nation, the young Schiller, at the age of 16, was active in his ardent love for Germany as a volunteer in the "Maercker" Free Corps and as a volunteer in the "Halle" Free Corps in the then so red Central Germany. In 1922, in an era that rejected everything soldierly, he joined the Reichsmarine as an enthusiastic officer candidate. In 1926 he was



Lieutenant, in 1928 first lieutenant at sea. As a radio and communications officer, he was active in various branches of the service and broadened his horizons by traveling abroad.

He left the Reichsmarine in 1931. I found out about him through one of his friends, the then †-Oberführer von Eberstein, and recruited him to the Schutzstaffel in July of that year. Heydrich, who had been a first lieutenant, now joined the small Hamburg squadron as a simple †-man and, together with all the good, mostly unemployed boys who were the first loyal start there, served in the Saalkampf and in propaganda in the abundant red districts of the city. Soon afterwards I brought him to Munich and assigned him his new tasks in the still quite small Reichsführung SS.

With his innate loyalty and tenacity, he stood his ground in the politically difficult months of the fall of 1932, which made many demands. When I became Chief of Police in Munich on March 12 after the seizure of power in 1933, I immediately handed over the so-called political department of the Presidium to him. This department was reorganized in a very short time and within a few weeks it had become the Bavarian Political Police. Soon the political police forces of all non-Prussian German sub-regions were modeled after it, until on April 20, 1934, the Prussian Minister President, our Reich Marshal, Party comrade Hermann Göring, transferred the leadership of the Prussian Secret State Police to me and my deputy, †-Brigadeführer Reinhard Heydrich. In 1936, at the age of 32, Heydrich became head of the security police in the Reichspolizei, which had been newly created by the Führer. In addition to the Secret State Police, the entire Criminal Investigation Department was also placed under his command.

The years 1933, 34, 35, 36 were filled with a great deal of work and countless initial difficulties, a cheerful, carefree approach abroad towards emigrants and traitors, the hard and painful fulfilment of duty at home and the most difficult task of the new police, especially Heydrich's Security Service, the SD and the Security Police, to gain respect, prestige and rights in the administrative organization apparatus of the federal states and the Reich.

At the beginning of 1938, the Security Police was already a largely consolidated apparatus in every respect and equipped for all tasks. It can be quietly stated today that Heydrich had great merit in the bloodless invasions of the Ostmark, the Sudetenland and Bohemia-Moravia as well as in the liberation of Slovakia through his careful identification and conscientious recording of the enemy and a clear overview, usually down to the smallest detail, of the activities of the enemy in these countries, their organizational bodies and their leaders.

I would like to take this opportunity to present to the public the thoughts of this man who was feared by the Untermenschen, hated and slandered by Jews and other criminals, and once not understood by many Germans.

He tackled all the measures and actions he took as a National Socialist and SS man. From the depths of his heart and blood, he felt, understood and realized the world view of Adolf Hitler. He approached all the problems he had to solve from the fundamental realization of a genuine racial world view and from the knowledge that the preservation of purity, safeguarding and protection of our blood is the highest law. He had the difficult task of building and leading an organization that had to deal almost exclusively with the darker sides of life, with the shortcomings, aberrations and incomprehension as much as with the evil will, criminal instincts and antisocial excesses of human society. The greatest burden of this security service of the nation is that its men are hardly ever confronted with pleasant events.

Heydrich rightly took the view that only the best of our people, the most carefully selected racially, with excellent character and a pure mind, with a good heart and an irrepressibly hard will, were suitable to perform this service of combating the negative in a positive way that was beneficial to the whole and to bear the hardship of this responsibility.

He was filled with an incorruptible sense of justice. Flatterers and braggarts aroused only deep and open contempt in him. True and decent people, even if they were guilty, could always hope for his chivalrous attitude and human understanding. But he never allowed anything to happen that would have harmed the nation as a whole or the future of our blood, despite his understanding for the often tragic problems of the individual.

His truly revolutionary, creative and reorganizing work in the field of criminal investigation must not be forgotten. As in all things, he approached the issue of crime with common, sober common sense. At the same time, however, he ensured that the German criminal investigation department had the most modern technical and scientific equipment. As head of the International Criminal Police Commission, he shared his knowledge and experience with all police forces around the world. It is primarily thanks to him that crime in Germany has been steadily declining since 1936 and, despite the war, has now reached its lowest level ever in the third year of the war. May all the people who lived in Germany during the dark ages, in contrast to the

"glorious, humane" democratic countries can walk the streets calmly, unmolested and unrobbed, be grateful in their hearts to Reinhard Heydrich. Whether they are criminal or political criminals, both of whom are enemies of the nation, they will always be apprehended with an iron fist and will also be apprehended by his men of the security police in the future.

From countless conversations with Heydrich, however, I know what this outwardly tough and strict man often suffered and struggled for in his heart, and what it sometimes cost him to nevertheless always decide and act according to the law of the SS, which obliges us to "spare neither our own blood nor that of others if the life of the nation demands it". It was in this way that he, one of the best educators in National Socialist Germany, brought up the SS leadership corps of the Reich Security Service and raised and led them with unconditional cleanliness.

The SS leaders and men under his command clung to their commander, who always stood up for them, with heartfelt love and the highest respect. Even in the most difficult situations, he stood in front of his men and covered for them, a gentleman by birth and bearing. He was as much a shining example of willingness to bear responsibility as he was a model of modesty. He took the view that it was better to let the work done and the work speak for itself than to push ahead. Some people were surprised when he gave them an insight into the intellectual work of the Reich Security Service in all areas of life. There was no longer any trace of the old, dusty Büttel criminal police. The fundamentals were worked out in the most rigorous scientific research and only then did the day-to-day issues arise from their findings.

Then came the war with all its many tasks in the newly occupied territories in Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia and Greece, but above all in Russia. It was hard for him, this ready fencer and go-getter, not to be allowed to be on the front line. In addition to his tireless work, which he performed day and night as one of the most diligent men in the Reich, he spent weeks and months in the morning hours gradually acquiring his pilot's license and passing his test as a fighter pilot. In 1940, he then flew as a fighter pilot in the Netherlands and Norway, where he earned the bronze Front Flight Medal and the Iron Cross II Class. However, he was not satisfied with this.

In 1941, at the beginning of the Russian campaign, he then flew again without my knowledge - and this, I can proudly admit and state, was the only secrecy in the eleven years together that he had before me - as a fighter pilot with a German squadron in southern Russia, where he earned the Silver Front Flight Medal and the Iron Cross First Class. During this time, the

Fate stretched out its hand to him once. He had been shot down by Russian anti-aircraft fire, but he landed luckily between the two lines and made his way through to the German side, only to immediately take off again the next morning in another plane.

As much as I had always held the view that Heydrich was more important in his position than as a soldier on the external front, I understood his insistence: he also wanted to fulfill and prove one part of the law, "not to spare one's own blood", at the front, although his entire activity as head of the SD was actually a daily, dangerous mission.

September of the previous year brought him a new major task and, as we know today, his last major task. The Führer appointed him as Deputy Reich Protector in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia after the Reich Protector von Neurath fell ill. Some in Germany, especially among the Czech people, believed at the time that this dreaded Heydrich would now come and rule there only with blood and terror. In those months, however, when he was given a major, positive, creative task for the first time, visible to the whole world, his genius was revealed in the fullest measure. He took a hard line, tackled the guilty, gave unconditional respect to German power and imperial authority, but gave all those of good will the opportunity to cooperate. There was no problem of the manifold life in these imperial lands of Bohemia and Moravia that this young deputy of the Reichspfleger did not draft and, out of the strength of his heart, the deep understanding of the laws of our blood and being imbued with the myth of the Reich, did not happily initiate and in part already solve.

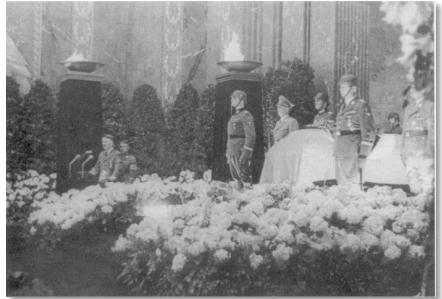
On May 27, however, he was hit by an insidious bomb of English origin, thrown by a paid subject from the ranks of the most worthless subhumanity, and was killed. Fear and excessive caution were alien to him, who was one of the best sportsmen in the SS, a bold fencer, rider, swimmer, pentathlete, a sportsman of ability and spirit. However, it is characteristic of his courage and energy that he himself, already badly wounded, fought back and shot the assassin twice.

For days we hoped that his body, born of the strength of healthy ancestors and kept healthy by him in a simple and disciplined life, would be able to avert the grave danger. On the seventh day, June 4, 1942, fate, the Lord God, the Ancient One, in whom he, the great opponent of the misuse of every religion for political purposes, deeply believed with self-evident unwaveringness and submission, completed his physical life.

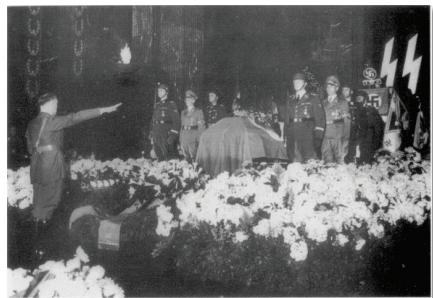
All of us, first and foremost the Führer of the Reich, whom he served with all the loyalty of his heart, and we, his friends and comrades and his two young sons, who are here as witnesses to his infinitely happy family life and as representatives of their brave mother, who is expecting a new child, are gathered to pay our last respects to him. The Führer awarded him the Wounded Badge in Gold and honored him by giving the name "Reinhard Heydrich" to a regiment of the Waffen SS on the Eastern Front, the 6th SS Infantry Division, on the day of his death. He will live on according to our sacred conviction, which was also his faith. But just as he continued the line of his ancestors and did them nothing but honor, so he will live on with all his qualities as an artistic man and as a brave fighter, as a joyful and serious spirit that never bends, as a character of the purest stamp, noble, decent and clean in his sons, in the children who are heirs to his blood and name. But all our affection and loving care belongs to his wife and these children. Let them be safe and secure in the great family of the Schutzstaffel.

Beyond that, however, he will live on in our religious community of the SS. The memory of him will help us when we have to solve tasks for the Führer and the Reich: He will fight and battle with us when we, true to the law, line up, attack and persevere as the last. He will be with us when we remain the same in good times and bad. But he will also be with us when we sit together and celebrate with our comrades. For the security service and the security police, as the creator and founder, he will be the role model that is always before everyone's eyes, perhaps never to be achieved again. For all Germans, however, he will be a blood witness and a reminder that Bohemia and Moravia are and will remain German imperial lands, as they have always been. Over there, in the other world, he will live with our old comrades Weitzel, Moder, Herrmann, Mülverstedt, Stahlecker and many others in the midst of the long battalions of dead SS men and fight eternally in our ranks in spirit. But ours is the sacred obligation to atone for his death now, to take on his task and to destroy the enemies of our people without mercy or weakness. There is only one thing left for me to say: you, Reinhard Heydrich, were truly a good SS man! Personally, however, I would like to thank you here for your unwavering loyalty and for the wonderful friendship that united us in this life and which death cannot separate!

## *Adolf Hitler's parting words*



**I** have only a few words to dedicate to this dead man. He was one of the best National Socialists, one of the strongest defenders of the German He was one of the greatest opponents of all enemies of the empire. He fell as a blood witness for the preservation and safeguarding of the Reich. As leader of the party and as leader of the German Reich, I give you, my dear comrade Heydrich, as the second German after party comrade Todt, the highest honor I have to bestow: the highest level of the Teutonic Order.



## *Kurt Daluge's farewell words*

In this spirit of political soldiering, he led his men in the utmost discipline to be as tough as the safety of the whole demanded, but never tougher than the overall fate of the people made necessary.

In this development, which inextricably linked Heydrich to the SS however beyond the SS, but which had lifted him beyond narrow formational considerations and which gave him police resources from the great will to order of the Reich in Europe handle and the Führer entrusted him with the deputy position of Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia.

He stepped now, visible to everyone, in functions that went beyond a merely defensive and combative activity. From the His close acquaintance with inadequacy in every form and in all areas led him to conceive the best solutions in each case, regardless of whether it concerned economic issues or those of cultural life. It was a great surprise that the deliberate seducers and saboteurs of European reorganization in the Bohemian-Moravian region were quickly and ruthlessly eliminated wherever they were encountered, but the firm hand generously and fairly went about the work of reconstruction, in which even the slightest remnant of good will could unfold in an atmosphere of trust. This free and open way of dealing with people, which was more than political prudence could have entered into, was also reflected in his personal conduct.

It only completes the tragedy of his death that the bullet struck him neither in the background work as head of the Security Police and the SD nor in the fight on the fronts of the war, but in the beginning of a peaceful and constructive work as Deputy Reich Protector, which helped the Czechs, whose prosperity and The German people had to benefit no less than the German people.



## *Martin Bormann's farewell words*

*June 9, 1942, Berlin*

R einhard Heydrich's outstanding achievement the National Socialist movement is the security service! The Reichsführer SS had recognized Heydrich's special talents and abilities early on and quickly: as early as 1931, he assigned him the difficult special field! This meant that the right man was in the right place. Only an impeccable National Socialist, a man of great energy, a man with both sound and clear judgment could master the task at hand. Reynhard Heydrich distinguished with a penetrating intellect and unerring instinct between the real and the seemingly real,

the all-too-human from the truly bad. In particular, his bright mind and unerring instinct proved their worth time and again in tracking down and persecuting enemies of the party and the state. In a very short time, Heydrich considered all the possibilities of his opponents, spread them out in a well-organized manner, like a fan, in front of the Reichsführer SS and was usually able to report completion of the mission and task in the shortest possible time.

How carefully and thoroughly Reinhard Heydrich worked, what comprehensive foundations he laid for the entire work of his office, can only be appreciated by those who were repeatedly able to observe the activities of the Reich Main Security Office on the spot. Reinhard Heydrich worked tirelessly and with almost unbelievable diligence on perfecting this instrument; he had recognized the magnitude of the overall task to be accomplished and therefore also the magnitude of the task he himself had been given! He saw that the Führer did not allow himself a break, and therefore he too knew neither comfort nor rest, but his creative spirit worked restlessly. And despite all his really hard work



Reinhard Heydrich was always the cheerful, strong optimist; how much human weakness, inadequacy and wickedness he saw! And yet he always remained the carefree, aggressive National Socialist whose faith in mastering his tasks could never be shaken!

As part of his assignment, Heydrich was initially tasked with researching the intellectual foundations and international connections of all opponents of the movement in order to combat them on the basis of the knowledge thus gained. He was not only concerned with safeguarding external state security, but in particular with protecting the National Socialist movement and ideology. He clearly recognized that fighting the opponents could only be a partial task of the National Socialist Greater German Reich; he knew that the existence of the nation could only be guaranteed in the long term if the opponents were struck at their spiritual roots by the National Socialist movement and if the ideological unity of the German people was brought to fruition through the positive work of the party. Reinhard Heydrich thus became one of the most active fighters for the protection and purification of National Socialist ideas.

Reinhard Heydrich created a security corps which, in stark contrast to the institutions of other states, was an ideological fighting force that openly and fiercely guarded the security of the Reich. Every member of the SD was to be so ideologically and characteristically stable that he could fulfill this difficult and often thankless task without suffering human harm. The prerequisites for this were laid down in the laws of the SS. It was possible to deploy young party members from a wide range of professions in the SD. As a result, many young talents were brought in to work responsibly, which would not have been able to fully develop in the course of a normal professional career, especially in the decisive years of reconstruction. What was achieved quietly by these employees, often without any external recognition, is also exemplary in the party's rich history of voluntary work. Heydrich demanded the highest performance from his men, and that is why he succeeded in selecting and training a corps of leaders who would carry on the tasks set in his spirit.

The Security Service of the Reichsführer SS, which was responsible for the procurement and processing of intelligence material for the party, became the political intelligence and counter-intelligence service of the party, its branches and affiliated organizations. As an institution of the party, the SD thus provided the basis for a comprehensive exchange of experience. The SD did not limit itself to informing the leadership offices about the enemy's efforts, but also continuously provided comprehensive information about developments and undesirable developments in all areas of national life. This systematic

The deployment of the Security Service in all areas of life provided the opportunity to bring wishes and suggestions from all parts of the Reich and from all sections of the population to the immediate attention of the highest Reich authorities. In addition, the SD's sifting work resulted in a wealth of positive suggestions for the work of the party.

Anyone who worked with † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich always took great pleasure in his sporty, soldierly attitude, his comprehensive knowledge and his sound judgment.

He always stuck to the line he recognized as ideologically correct with unwavering firmness! As flexible as his methods were, his National Socialist stance remained tenacious and stubborn. For him, taking on his tasks meant complete dedication!

The NSDAP lost one of its best in Reinhard Heydrich!

# *Program of the state funeral*

## *Order for funeral parade and transfer of the deceased † - Obergruppenführer and General of the Police Heydrich*

1. The order of the B.d.W. - SS B.u.M. of 6.6.1942 is canceled.
2. The funeral parade takes place in the courtyard of honor of the castle on 7.6.1942 from 18:00.
3. Honor guard:  
The guard of honor is relieved:
  - a) At 16:45 by the following close associates of the deceased † -  
Obergruppenführer:
    - † -Oberführer Dr. Six,
    - † -Oberführer Huber,
    - † -Standartenführer Dr. Geschke,
    - † -Standart guide Dr. Ehlich,
    - † -Obersturmbannführer Schellenberg,
    - † -Sturmbannführer Dr. Ploetz,
    - † -Sturmbannführer Dr. Scheidler,
    - † -Hauptsturmführer Kluckhohn.

The B.d.S. is responsible for any replacements.

- b) At 17:15 by the following † guide:
  - † -Obergruppenführer von Eberstein,
  - † -Obergruppenführer Hildebrandt,
  - † -Obergruppenführer von Woysch,
  - † -Obergruppenführer Lorenz,
  - † -Obergruppenführer Heißmeyer,
  - † -Group leader Berckelmann,

and two further † -super-group or group leaders.

The adjutant's office of the Reichsprotector is responsible for orders.

- c) At 17:50 by the following † -leaders and generals:
  - aa) Right and left in the front link:  
the † -Gruppenführer and Gen.Ltn.d.Pol:  
Streckenbach and Nebe
  - bb) In the 2nd link:  
Lt. Gen. von Prondzynski (Army)

Gen. Major Bülowius (Air Force)

cc) In the 3rd link:

† -Gruppenführer, Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter Dr. Jury,

† -Group leader, Gauleiter Scheel

or the deputy Gauleiter Sudetenland and Niederdonau.

dd) In the 4th link:

† -Brigadeführer and Major General of Arms-† Hansen,

† -Brigadeführer and Major General of Arms-† Bittrich.

The following are responsible for ordering or providing replacements:

Re aa): B.d.S.,

Re bb): the Wehrmacht base commander, Colonel von Briesen, Re

cc): Party liaison office,

Re dd): B.d.W.-†.

d) The † leaders and officers assigned to the guard of honor must present themselves in the throne room of the Reichsprotector's apartment half an hour before the start of their duty.

e) At the same time as the guard of honor that rises at 5:50 p.m., † - Oberführer Voß and † -Obersturmbannführer Deutsch, as bearers of the medals and decorations of † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich, move up and stand in front of the coffin. The medal cushions are to be requested in good time by † - Oberführer Voß from † -Hauptsturmführer Kluckhohn (Adjutantur Reichsprotector).

Reference is also made to the special order issued to both † leaders.

f) Also at 17:50: 2 Btls. flags in

front of E-† - "D" and

1 police standard with 2 officers each.

The 3 flags with escorts have to report to † -Oberführer Voß at 4:30 pm in the Throne Room of the castle (Reichsprotector apartment).

The provision takes place:

aa) the police standard by B.d.O.,

bb) of the † flags by Kdr.E-† - "D",

cc) the flag officers wear white gauntlet gloves.

g) Regulation of the entire service in the courtyard of the castle and the honorary service at the coffin on 7.6.1942 from 7:00 a.m. has † -Oberführer Voß.  
On-site briefing by Kdr. † -Wachbatl. Prague, † -  
Obersturmbannführer Peter.

h) The guard of honor listed under point 3c) will be on duty from the time the coffin is raised until it has been loaded onto the wagon at the main station.

- i) After moving the coffin into the iron wagon, 2 † -guides take over the guard of honor. Two further † -guides must remain in the railroad car as relief.  
The longest-serving † leader is responsible for replacement.
- j) After leaving the station and before arriving at Anhalter Bahnhof, security will be provided in accordance with verbal instructions.
- k) After leaving the wagon at the Anhalter Bahnhof, the 4 † -guides will act as a guard of honor and flank the coffin on its way to the carriage.  
Orders regarding the replacement of this honor guard will be issued via † - General Command Office Berlin.

4. Pallbearer:

- 8 Unterführer, provided by † -Wachbatl. Prag, stand ready under the leadership of † - Hauptsturmführer Opificius from 17:30 on the II. castle courtyard, at the passage to the Ehren hof.  
Approach on truck over dust bridge.

*Minute program for the funeral service for the deceased † - Obergruppenführer and General of the Police Heydrich on Sunday, June 7, 1942*



7:45 a.m. Transfer of the coffin from the "Reinhard-Heydrich-Halle" of the castle to the catafalque, accompanied by the guard of honor.

8:00 a.m. Admission of the German and Czech population to the final tribute in the castle courtyard. Laying of flowers and wreaths.

16:45 The honor guard is relieved by 8 † -leaders, the closest collaborators of † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich.

5:15 pm Replacement of the honor guard by the certain 6 † - Obergruppenführer and 3 † -Gruppenführer.

17:00 hrs The castle courtyard is closed to the public. The forecourt in front of the courtyard, the Burgstättenring, is cordoned off.

5:15 pm Invited guests can enter the castle courtyard.

17:40 The funeral parade stands on Hradcany Square in front of the castle.



5:45 p.m. The line-up of participants in the memorial service is complete.

5:48 p.m. Arrival of the President of the Republic, Dr. Hácha.

5:50 p.m. Taking over the guard of honor at the coffin by

- † -Gruppenführer and lieutenant generals of the police Streckenbach and Nebe,
- Lieutenant General von Prondzynski (Army) and Major General Bülowius (Air Force)
- 2 Gauleiter or the deputy Gauleiter of Sudetenland and Nieder-Donau
- † -Brigadeführer and Major Generals of Arms-† Bittrich and Hansen
- The Order pillow bearers, † -Oberführer Voss and † - Obersturmbannführer Deutscher with the decorations and awards

of † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich line up in front of the coffin,

f) 2 flags of (E) † - "D" and 1 pole standard with 2 flag officers each take up position behind the coffin on the balustrade in front of the iron cross, in the middle of the pole standard, to the right and left of it at the same height 1 † flag each.

The flag officers of the two † flags and the Pol. Standard take up position one step lower on the right and left in front of their badges of honor.

5:55 p.m. Arrival of Heydrich's family members and relatives.

Participants are:

the children Klaus and Heider,  
 Heydrich's mother,  
 the brother and sister of Heydrich, the father  
 of Mrs. Heydrich,  
 the cousin of Mrs. Heydrich,  
 an uncle and an aunt of Heydrich.



17:59 The Reichsführer-† arrives in front of the castle. The funeral parade is led by † - Group leader Krüger reported.

18:00 The Reichsführer stands in his place in front of the coffin.  
 The funeral service begins.

Piece of music: Sonata in A flat major by Beethoven, played by a music corps of the police.

18:15 Speech by S-Oberstgruppenführer Dalugee.

18:35 The music plays the † -tribute song.

18:45 Commemorative words from the RF-†.

When the wreath is laid by RF-†, the song of the good comrade is played. Laying of bouquets of flowers by Heydrich's children, during the laying of the wreath the battery fires a salute. Further wreath-laying ceremonies to the right and left of the coffin by † - Colonel Group Leader Daluge, State Secretary Frank, wreaths from the Reich Security Main Office, the Army, the Air Force, State President Dr. Hácha, the Protectorate Government.

18:50 National anthems.

18:55 After the national anthems have finished, the pallbearers approach the coffin and pick it up. The coffin is carried through the central aisle to the carriage raised in front of the Gate of Honor and secured there.

They follow the coffin to the gun carriage:

The Reichsführer-†, the family members and the leading honorary entourage accompanying the funeral procession.

During the carrying of the coffin from the catafalque to the gun carriage, the funeral parade pays military tribute by playing the presentation march. The presentation march is broken off when the RF-† lowers his arm raised in salute. In the castle courtyard itself, the marching band and the police band form up as quickly as possible for the funeral march in front of the right-hand entrance gate to the castle courtyard.

The wreath bearers pick up the wreaths and form up their marching block in the prescribed place in the castle courtyard. The police standard is positioned behind the police band in the castle courtyard.

The marching block of wreath bearers is concluded by the bearers of the RF-† wreath and the bearers of Heydrich's medal cushions. During the funeral march itself, these groups of bearers must keep a distance of 30 meters from each other and from the parts of the funeral procession marching in front of them or following them.

19:05 The leader of the funeral parade gives the order for the funeral procession to march off. The formations are lined up so that they march past the coffin in funeral procession. The funeral procession formations lined up at the right castle gate, consisting of

The marching band and marching band of the order police, wreath RF-†, medal cushion bearers, join the funeral procession in front of the honorary company of the order police. The marching band and marching band of the order police play at the command of † -Gruf. Krüger the funeral march for the march past of the formations in front of the gun carriage, which is also not interrupted when joining the funeral procession.

19:25 The funeral cortege joins the carriage with the coffin in the following order:

front row: † -Oberstgruppenführer Daluge, † -Gruppenführer Frank.

At a distance of 5 meters, the attending higher † follows in rows of six -Leader corps. This block of leaders is followed at a distance of 5 m by the other guests of honor, according to their rank.



20:40 Arrival of the funeral parade at the station. The honorary formations stop on the right side of the road, turn left and salute the passing gun carriage with Heydrich's coffin for the last time on the orders of the company commanders. Eyes follow the coffin.

8:45 p.m. The coffin is removed from the gun carriage while the march of the presentation march is played by the marching band and the band of the Waffen-† until the coffin is carried into the station. † - The Führerblock and named mourners as well as the wreath bearers with the wreaths follow.

20:50 The coffin is loaded onto the special train. The guards of honor and escorts quickly take their places. The mourners who have still entered the station greet the train as it departs, playing the piece of music "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden".



***List of participants from the Protectorate  
at the Berlin State Act***

1. President Hácha and Head of Section v. Popelka
2. Protectorate government:  
Minister Krejčí (Chairman of the Government),  
† -Oberführer Minister Bortsch,  
Minister Bienert,  
Minister Hrubý,  
Minister Kalfuss,  
Minister Kamenický,  
Minister Moravec
3. General Erminger, commander of the government force
4. General Toussaint, Wehrmacht Plenipotentiary to the Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia (together with adjutant)
5. † -Brigadeführer v. Treuenfeld, Commander of the Waffen-† Böhmen und Mähren (together with adjutant)
6. † -Oberführer Voss, commander of the † Beneschau training area
7. † -Oberführer Opländer, leader of the † -section Roman 39 (together with 3 † -leaders)
8. † -Sturmbannführer Jacobi, head of the SDM Prague section (along with 15 members of the Security Police and the SD)
9. † -Sturmbannführer Plötz, 1st adjutant of † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich (together with 3 † -leaders from the staff of † -Obergruppenführer Heydrich)
10. Colonel Muntus, Chief of Staff to the Commander of the Order Police (along with 3 officers)
11. Gauamtsleiter Schulte-Schomburg, Deputy Head of the Party Liaison Office at the Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia (together with Managing Director)
12. Staff of the party liaison office and deputy Gauleiter of Gau Bayerische Ostmark, Niederdonau, Oberdonau and Sudetengau
13. District Manager Adamn, Prague
14. District leader Letz, Iglaub
15. Hauptbannführer Zogelmann, head of the command center of the Reich Youth Leadership in Bohemia and Moravia
16. General Director Adolf, President of the Central Association of Industry
17. General Director Voss, Škoda Works, Pilsen
18. General Music Director Keilberth, conductor of the Prague German Symphony Orchestra
19. Professor Hönich, director of the German Academy of Art in Prague,
20. Professor Vietze, professor at the German Academy of Fine Arts in Prague,

21. General Arbeitsführer Commichan, leader of the Arbeitsgau Roman 38  
(together with adjutant)
22. Chief District Administrator Baron v. Watter, Prague
23. Deputy Prime Minister Professor Dr. Pfitzner, Prague
24. Government Commissioner Judex, Brno
25. Government Commissioner Sturm, Pilzen
26. Curator Dr. Ehrlicher, Prague
27. Curator Government Director Dr. Leitmeyer, Brno
28. † -Standartenführer Professor Dr. Buntur, Rector of the German Universities in Prague
29. Professor Dr. Kriso, Rector of the Brno German Technical University
30. Vice President Hande, Prague
31. State Vice-President Schwabe, Brno
32. Ministerial Director Liebenow
33. Head of Department Fuchs
34. Ministerial Councillor Danco
35. † -Sturmbannführer Wolf
36. † -Hauptsturmführer Wolfram
37. Chief Finance President Groß
38. President of the Higher Regional Court Bürkle
39. Attorney General Gabriel
40. Ministerial Councillor Kriesler
41. † -Oberführer Consul General Gerlach, representative of the Foreign Office to the Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia
42. Lieutenant Colonel v. Clanner-Engelshofen, liaison leader of the Nazi Reichskriegerbund to the Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia
43. Chief editor Wannenmacher, "New Day", Prague
44. † -Obersturmbannführer Hauptschriftleiter Heiß, Volk- und Reich-Verlag, Prague
45. Professor Dr. Dick, Prague, Bulowka
46. Professor Dr. Hohlbaum, Prague, University Hospital
47. German armaments workers (2)
48. German farmers (2)
49. Czech journalists (5)
50. Czech armaments workers (2)
51. Czech farmers (2)

*Estimate: 99 guests*

On behalf of Wolf

*Guests invited to the funeral service in the Mosaiksaal, Berlin, 9.6.1942*

## Card distribution:

20	Tickets for the main office of the police,	Berkelmann
20	Tickets for Reichsführer-† in person	Sepp Dietrich
100	tickets, including 50 standing tickets, for SD main office	Frh.v.Eberstein
100	Ticket for participants from the Protectorate,	Haussner
56	Cards for the † -Obergruppenführer: von dem Bach	Heißmeyer
(10 in reserve)		Hildebrandt, Rich.
		Jeckeln
		Koppe
		Krüger
		Lorenz
		Mazuw
		Pohl
		Prützmann
		Rediess
		Reinhard
		Scharfe
		Schmauser
		Schmitt
		Hereditary Prince of
		Waldeck Wolff
		v.Woysch
† -Group leader: Berger		
		Demelhuber
		Grawitz
		Greifelt
		Hennicke
		Hofmann
		Holzschuher
		Johst
		Jüttner
		young

Kaltenbrunner, Dr.  
Kaul  
Keppler  
Knoblauch  
Krüger  
Martin, Dr.  
Massow-  
Meissner  
Oelhafen-  
Pancke  
Petri  
Phleps  
Gunner  
Hauter  
Rösener  
Sachs  
Schlessmann  
Sporrenberg  
Taubert  
Turner  
Weinreich  
Zech  
† -Brigadeführer: Corsair  
Faster

12. Cards for women of the higher † leaders:

- Mrs. Dalugee
- Ms. v. Eberstein Ms.
- Wolff
- Ms. Lorenz Ms.
- Krüger Ms.
- Schmitt Ms.
- Berger Ms.
- Grawitz Ms.
- Greifelt Ms.
- Hofmann Ms.
- Jüttner Ms.
- Sachs

10 Tickets for the reserve, namely for: † -Brif. Glatzel  
† -Brif. Best  
† -Obf. Crane foot

† -Staf. Gotzelt

† -Staf. Fegelein

Mrs. Colonel Blümecke

Oblt.d.Luftwaffe Rott

## **Seat allocation:**

### Links

#### 1. Series:

1. President Dr. Hácha
2. Minister of State Meissner
3. State Secretary Frank
4. Excellency Rosa

#### 2. Series:

1. Head of Section v. Popelka, Dr.
2. General Toussaint
3. Minister Krejčí
4. † -Oberführer Minister Bertsch
5. Minister Moravec
6. Minister Bienert
7. Minister Hrubý
8. Minister Kalfus

#### 3. Series:

1. Minister Kamenitzky
2. Dr. Pizutto
3. General Erminger
4. † -Ogruf. Baron v. Eberstein
5. Mrs. v. Eberstein
6. † -Ogruf. Dietrich
- 7th-10th SD
11. † -Ogruf. Houser
12. † -Ogruf. Heißmeyer
13. † -Ogruf. Hildebrandt, Richard
14. † -Oruf. Jeckeln
15. Workplace

#### 4. Series:

1. † -Ogruf. Krüger
2. Mrs. Krüger
3. † -Ogruf. Koppe
4. † -Ogruf. Berkelmann
- 5th-12th SD and  
Ord.Pol.
13. † -Ogruf. v.d.Bach
14. † -Obruf. Mazuw

15. † -Ogruf. Pohl

5. Series:

1. † -Ogruf. Prützmann

2. † -Ogruf. Lorenz

3. Mrs. Lorenz

4. † -Ogruf. Rediess

5th-12th SD and

Ord.Pol.

13. † -Ogruf. Wolff

14. Mrs. Wolff

6. Series: 15. † -Ogruf. Sharp

1. † -Ogruf. Schmauser

2. Mrs. Daluge

3. † -Ogruf. v.Woysch

4. † -Ogruf. Hereditary Prince of

Waldeck 5th-12th SD and

Ord.Pol.

13. † -Ogruf. Schmitt

7. Series: 14. Mrs. Schmitt  
15. General Reinhard

1. † -Gruf. Berger

2. Mrs. Berger

3. † -Gruf. Demelhuber

4. † -Gruf. Hennicke

5th-12th SD and

Ord.Pol.

6th row: 13. † -Gruf. v.Grawitz  
14. Mrs. v. Grawitz  
15. † -Gruf. Wooden shoemaker

1. † -Gruf. Johst

2. † -Gruf. Young

3. † -Gruf. Greifelt

4. Mrs. Greifelt

5th-12th SD and Ord.Pol.

9. Series: 13. † -Gruf. Courtier  
14. Mrs. Hofmann  
15. † -Gruf. Dr. Kaltenbrunner

1. † -Gruf. Keppler

2. † -Gruf. Kaul

4. † -Gruf. Jüttner
5. Mrs. Jüttner
6. † -Gruf. Krüger,  
Walter 7th-10th SD and  
Ord.Pol.
11. † -Gruf. Dr. Martin
12. † -Gruf. Meizsner
13. † -Gruf. Pancke
14. † -Gruf. Petri
15. † -Gruf. Phlepa

10. Series:

1. † -Gruf. Querner
2. † -Gruf. Rauter
3. † -Gruf. Rösener
4. † -Gruf. Sachs
5. Mrs. Sachs
6. † -Gruf. Schlessmann

11. Series:

11. for the RF-†

1. † -Gruf. Sporrenberg
2. † -Gruf. Taubert
3. † -Gruf. Turner
4. † -Gruf. Weinreich
5. † -Gruf. Zech
6. † -Gruf. Korsemann

7TH-10TH SD

12. Series:

11. colonel Blümecke

1. † -Gruf. Faster
2. Gauamtsleiter Schulte-Schomburg
- 3rd-6th for 4 deputy Gauleiter

13. Series:

11. for the Reichsführer-†

1. † -Brif. Best
2. † -Brif. Glatzel
3. Oberreg. Council Giess
4. † -Brif. v. Treuenfeld
5. Senior Government Councillor Stuchlik
6. † -Obf. Gerlach
- 7th-8th for the Reichsführer-†
9. Min. conductor Fuchs
10. General Labor Leader Commichau

11. Oberlandrat v. Wetter
12. Captain Zoglmann
13. † -Obf. Opländer
14. Colonel Monua

14. Series:

1. SS. Stubaf. Wolf
2. President of the Higher Regional Court Bürkle
3. Attorney General Gabriel
4. Vice President Naude
5. for the Reichsführer-†
6. State Vice President Schwabe
7. Ministerial Councillor Kireser
8. Chief Finance President Gross
9. for the Reichsführer-†
10. Ministerial Councillor Dankow
11. Ministerial Conductor Liebenow
12. General Manager Vambersky
13. General Manager Staller
14. for the Reichsführer-†
15. Dr. Meixner

15. Row:

- 1st and 2nd / 2 German armaments workers
3. and 4th / 2 German farmers
- 5th-9th / Czech journalists
- 10th and 11th / 2 Czech armaments workers
- 12th and 13th / 2 farmers
- 14th and 15th for the Reichsführer-†

16. Series:

1. District Manager Adam
2. District Manager Latz
3. Commissioner Judex
4. for the Reichsführer-†
5. Reg. commissioner Sturm
6. † -Obf. Voss
7. † -Obf. Wreath foot
8. † -Staf. Fegelein
9. † -Staf. Potzelt
10. for the Reichsführer-†
11. † -Stubaf. Jakobi
12. General Director Adolph
13. General Manager Voss
14. General Music Director Keilhorth

15. † -Staf. Dr. Buntru

17. Series:

1. Dr. Kriesow
2. Dr. Ehrlicher
3. for the Reichsführer-†
4. Prof. Dr. Dick
5. Prof. Dr. Hohlbaum
6. Prof. Hönicke
7. Prof. Vietze
8. Dr. Leitmeier
9. Lieutenant Colonel v. Olsner-Engelshofen
10. † -Ostubaf. Hot
11. Chief editor Wannemacher
12. Dr. Pfeifner
13. † -Stubaf. Kappler
14. for the Reichsführer-†
15. † -Hstuf. Tungsten

***Work plan and minute program for the state funeral of the deputy  
Reichsprotektor † - Obergruppenführer and General of the Police  
Reinhard Heydrich***

Distributor:

Adjutant's office of the Führer (Brigadeführer Albrecht) 2	
Presidential Chancellery of the Führer (ORR Berger) 2	
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Office of State Secretary Gutterer	2
Staff Office of the Reich Marshal (Min.Dir. Gritzbach)	2
Reichsführung SS - Staff	4
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Command Office of the Arms †	4
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Professor Benno von Arent	2
OKW - Lieutenant Colonel Kretzschmer	2
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Command of the police	2
† -Upper Spree section	2
Reich Main Security Office (RR Schulz)	1
Reich Security Service (Crimean Council Forster)	1
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Board of Anhalter Bahnhof	1
Imperial car train "Germany"	2

Staatskapelle Berlin	1
Reichspostdirektion Berlin (Ob.Insp. Baumgarten)	1
DP department	1
AP department	1
Broadcasting department	1
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Radio Operations Staff - Broadcasting Manager Apitzsch	2
Department M	1
Ministerial Office Director	1
Gruppenführer Krüger - Command Office of the Waffen-†	1
† -Oberführer Schulz - Command Office of the Waffen-†	1
† -Hauptsturmführer Krause - † -Oberabschnitt Spree	1
† -Obersturmführer Dorrer - Command Office of the Waffen-†	1
Speaker Reinhardt	1
Captain Giese	1
Reichshauptstellenleiter Scheffler	1

## **I. Distribution of the areas of responsibility**

Overall management: Major d. Sch.

Title Responsible for the sub-areas:

- 1) Arrival at Anhalter Bahnhof and transfer to Prinz-Albrecht-Palais:  
Referent Reinhardt - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14 App. 2279
- 2) Transfer from Prinz-Albrecht-Palais to the Mosaic Hall of the New Reich Chancellery: Captain Giese - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14 App. 3139
- 3) State ceremony in the Mosaic Hall of the New Reich Chancellery: Major d.Sch. Titel, RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14 App. 2594
- 4) March to the invalid cemetery:  
Gauhauptstellenleiter Krause - RPA Berlin - Tel. 16 39 54
- 5) Burial at the Invalids' Cemetery: Captain Giese -  
RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14 App. 3137
- 6) Design:  
Prof. Benno von Arent - Tel. 80 65 29
- 7) Loudspeaker system:  
SA-Gruppenführer Schäfer - Reichsautozug "Germany" - Tel. 11 27 37
- 8) Film use:  
† -Obersturmbannführer Fangauf - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14, App. 2344
- 9) Image press use:  
Senior Government Councillor Kurzbein - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14, App. 2309
- 10) Radio use:  
Broadcasting Manager Apitzach - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14, App. 3002
- 11) Invitations and seating arrangements:  
Reichshauptstellenleiter Scheffler - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14, App. 3189
- 12) Standards and flags:  
† -Hauptsturmführer Kranse: † -Oberabschnitt Spree - Tel. 79 12 41
- 13) Acceptance point for wreaths:  
Ref. Reinhardt - RMVP - Tel. 11 00 14, App. 2279
- 14) Pallbearer:  
† -Obersturmführer Dorrer - Command Office of the Waffen-†, Tel. 87 93 61
- 15) Honorary posts and medal pillow bearers:  
† -Oberführer Schulz - Reich Main Security Office - Tel. 12 00 38
- 16) Funeral parade:  
† -Gruppenführer Krüger - Command Office of the Waffen-†, Tel. 87 93 61
- 17) Mourning sequence:  
Gauhauptstellenleiter Krause - RPA Berlin - Tel. 16 39 54
- 18) Security and regulatory affairs:  
The Higher † - and Police Leader Berlin in Military District III - Tel. 97 78 41

## **II. Arrival at Anhalter Bahnhof and transfer to Prinz-Albrecht-Palais**

Monday, June 8, 1942

11:00 a.m. The design work is finished.

11:00 a.m. The cordoning off of the station forecourt is complete. The entire width of the pavement in front of the Fürstenzimmer exit must be clear.

11:15 a.m. 2 wreath wagons from the Griensisen company have arrived. Positioning according to verbal instructions from the leader.

11:15 a.m. Rapporteurs from all divisions and the technical service have taken their seats.

11:30 a.m. The personalities specially designated to collect the dead † - Obergruppenführer, as well as the deputy Gauleiter of Berlin, city commander, chief of police, comm. Mayor, as well as 1 senior group or group leader from each of the movement's branches, including the Reich Labor Service, are gathered in the Fürstenzimmer of the Anhalter Bahnhof. Access directly from the station forecourt.

In the Fürstenzimmer, the participants are given verbal instructions on how to line up on the platform and the entire ceremony.

11:40 a.m. An honorary company of the police with a marching band has taken up position on the platform.

11:45 a.m. An honorary company with music and marching band of the Waffen-† has taken up position on the station forecourt, as has a mot. The same goes for the motorized escort of the Waffen-† in company strength. Kübelsitzwagen for the † -Obergruppen- and † -Group leader. The guides report to the leader (Ref. Reinhardt) at 11 a.m. on the station forecourt at the entrance to the Fürstenzimmer for briefing.

Note:

The command office of the Waffen-† is responsible for providing the aforementioned bucket seat vehicles.

11:55 a.m. Lining up of the specially designated † leaders and leading personalities is completed.

12:00 noon Arrival of the special train.

Note:

The manager of Anhalter Bahnhof is responsible for ensuring that the train with the door of the coffin carriage through which the coffin is carried comes to a stop at the point designated in the site inspection on June 6.

As soon as the train stops, the 6 guards of honor provided by the Reich Security Office Berlin line up on both sides of the door of the coffin carriage.

The honorary escort from Prague, which is provided in the two D-train passenger coaches between the locomotive and the pack wagon, leaves these and lines up in front of them close to the edge of the platform, right wing coupling between the passenger coach and the pack wagon.

The coffin bearers from Prague have already lined up in the coffin carriage before the train stops.

Note:

The stationmaster of Anhalter Bahnhof arranges for the coffin carriage door to be opened as soon as the train stops. Staff in Reichsbahn uniforms.

After the door is opened, the guards of honor from Prague step aside; they remain in the pack wagon.

The pallbearers approach, pick up the coffin and carry it out.

The new honorary posts from Berlin march in double file in front of the

Coffi  
n.

From the moment the coffin becomes visible on the platform until the departure through the Fürstenzimmer, presentation of the honorary company and drum roll.

As soon as the coffin reaches the right wing of the † - leaders and leading personalities lined up in 3 rows, they turn right and follow the coffin.

From the moment the coffin becomes visible on the station forecourt until the departure of the funeral cortege, presentation of the honorary company and presentation march.

The † - Obergruppenführer and † -Gruppenführer designated for the journey to the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais move immediately to the bucket seat wagons behind the coffin gun carriage. The remaining personalities line up on the walkway at the level of the coffin gun carriage.

The guards of honor make their way to the 2 bucket seat carriages in front of the coffin gun carriage.

After securing the coffin, the pallbearers are seated.

Afterwards Approach of the mot. Escort.

Marching order:

Company commander's car,

½ mot. company,

2 bucket seat carriages for the honorary posts, coffin gun carriage,

Car of the Reichsführer-†,

Bucket seat car of the † -Obergruppenführer and † -Gruppenführer (2 vehicles side by side),

½ mot. Company, police police car.

Route of the mot. Escort route: Saarlandstraße - Prinz-Albrecht-Straße (past the Secret State Police Office building) - Wilhelmstraße to the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais, Wilhelmstraße 102 (1.2 km).

On the aforementioned route, a light line of security police and order police.

Remark:

The wreaths on the special train from Prague are transported to the Prince Albrecht Palace in the two Grieneisen wreath wagons so that they arrive about ½ hour after the laying out.

Again  
st

12:15 p.m. Arrival of the mot. Escort in front of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais.

In front of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais with front to it an honorary company of arms† with marching band, middle of the company in front of the northern driveway.

The coffin gun carriage stops on Wilhelmstrasse in front of the northern driveway.

Shortly before the arrival of the coffin gun carriage, presentation and drum roll until the coffin is carried into the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais.

Remark:

On the sidewalk in front of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais, between the two driveways, 60 leaders of the Reich Security Main Office in a row of three.

On the outside of the driveways of the forecourt to the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais light guard of honor of the Reich Security Main Office in the posture of the honor guards at the Royal Square.

Immediately after the mot. Escort, the pallbearers and honor guard approach the coffin gun carriage. The coffin is lifted and carried across the northern passageway to the conference hall of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais.

Immediately following the coffin (in a row of 3)

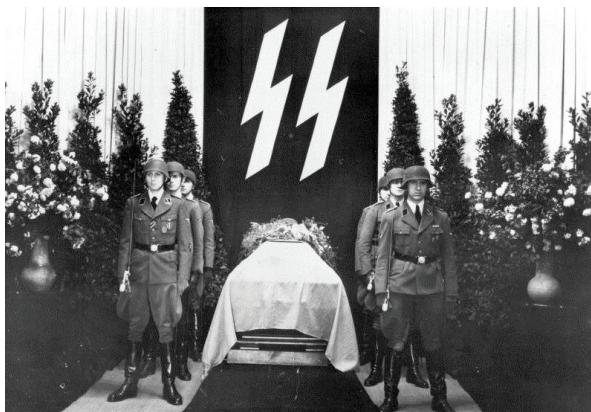
Reichsführer SS, † -Oberstgruppenführer, † -Obergruppenführer and † -Gruppenführer from the mot. Escort,

60 † - Leader of the Reich Main Security Office in front of the sidewalk

from.

Lowering the coffin onto the catafalque in the conference hall. Dismounting of the pallbearers.

The guards of honor line up on either side of the coffin. After a short pause, the Reichsführer-† and † -Führer leave the conference room.



Afterwards Departure of the honorary company and the mot. company.

### III. Transfer from the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais to the Mosaic Hall of the New Reich Chancellery

Tuesday, June 9, 1942

12:50 p.m. On Wilhelmstrasse in front of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais 1 honorary company of arms† with music and marching band. Line-up as on the previous day.

Likewise 1 mot. Escort of the Waffen-† in company strength, marching to Wilhelmplatz.

12:55 p.m. The honorary escort of the Reich Security Main Office has taken up position in the anteroom of the conference hall. Likewise the pallbearers.

1:00 p.m. Carrying out the coffin.

The guards of honor march in front of the coffin. The honorary escort of the Reich Security Main Office follows the coffin and lines up in a row of three on the sidewalk at the height of the coffin gun carriage.

The guards of honor immediately proceed to the two bucket seat carriages in front of the coffin gun carriage.

After securing the coffin, the pallbearers mount.

Departure of the mot. Escort.

From the moment the coffin becomes visible as it is carried out to the departure of the presenting company. Presentation march.

Marching order of the mot. convoy:

Company commander's car,

½ mot. Company, 2

KüBELSITZWAGEN,

coffin gun carriage,

½ mot. Company,

police police car.

1:00 p.m. On the sidewalk south of the passageway to the cour d'honneur, 30 higher  
† -Leader of the Reichsführung SS took up position.

13:05 Arrival of the mot. Escort in front of the Reich Chancellery.

The coffin gun carriage stops on Wilhelmstrasse at the level of the passage to the Ehrenhof.

After stop step honor guard and pallbearers to the coffin gun carriage.

Lifting the coffin and carrying it across the court of honor to the mosaic hall.

The honorary cortege of the Reichsführing SS follows the coffin in a row of three.

On the court of honor a honorary company of the Waffen-† with marching band. (Line-up finished at 12:55 pm).

Presentation and drum roll from the appearance of the coffin until it is out of sight in the mosaic hall.

Placing the coffin on the catafalque in the Mosaic Hall.

After a brief lingering, the escort of honor of the Reichsführing-† leaves the Mosaiksaal.

Afterwards wind up from 8 posts of honor, and namely (staff officers and peers)

2 SD

1 each navy and air force

2 Party

2 Weapons+†

At the same time, the medal cushion bearers are raised.

#### **IV. State ceremony in the Mosaic Hall of the New Reich Chancellery**

Tuesday, June 9, 1942, Arrangement:

The Mosaic Hall is to be seated; 1st row on both sides of the center aisle special chairs.

Excluding the 1st row, 395 seats on the right-hand side and 228 on the left-hand side. In the usual place in the Mosaic Hall there is room for the orchestra with 70 seats.

The podium is designed in the usual way. Flame bowls on both sides of the catafalque.

22 flags at the head of the catafalque, namely 3 weapons+† flags, one flag each for the air force, army and navy, 1 standard and 3 police flags. The remaining standards and flags of the † flags are not illuminated.

On the right-hand side of the podium, stand for the driver's crown.

Shooting points for picture and film in the usual places.

The preparation of the mosaic room must be completed by 11:30 a.m. on June 9.

Sufficient cleaners must be available to clean the podium after the wreaths have been brought in.

The public address system must be operational by 12:00 noon. The same applies to any necessary lighting systems for image and film.

9:00-

12:00 p.m.    Acceptance of wreath donations at the steps to the Mosaic Hall.

Remark:

The leader is joined by a member of the Reichsführung SS and a member of the Party Chancellery. Report at 10:00 a.m. on the steps of the Mosaic Hall.

Reich Security Main Office provides 20 men for support (bring rations). Report 9.6., 9:00 a.m. to the leader on the steps of the Mosaic Hall (bring cap, steel helmet).

The wreaths handed in must be recorded in a register.

At 12:00 noon, the following wreaths will be determined by the leader:

- a.) 15 wreaths (maximum) to be laid near the catafalque and later carried in the funeral procession.
- b.) In addition to the wreaths under a), further wreaths up to a total of 34 will be placed at the foot of the steps in the Court of Honor and will precede those coming from the Mosaic Hall.

The Grieneisen company provides 2 wreath wagons for the transportation of wreaths to the Invalids' Cemetery. Report at 10:00 a.m. in the courtyard of honor. All wreaths that are not suitable for carrying in the funeral procession will be driven immediately to the Invalidenfriedhof.

12:00 p.m. Reich Security Main Office provides another 60 wreath bearers in steel helmets (bring a cap).

Report to the leader on the steps of the Mosaic Hall (men must be catered for).

12:00 p.m. † -Oberabschnitt Spree provides 100 † -men for barrier purposes. Report to speaker Reinhardt at the steps of the mosaic hall.

Remark:

The positioning and activities of the wreath bearers and the cordon during the ceremony must be practiced. Practice must be completed by 12:45.

13:40	Arrival of the Staatskapelle.
13:45 -	
14:00	Microphone rehearsal of the Staatskapelle.
2:00 p.m.	The technical service, including reporting, has taken its seats.
2:00 p.m.	Wreath and coffin bearers have taken up their positions as ordered.
14:00	The Führer's wreath is placed in the anteroom of the Mosaic Hall. In addition 2 † -leaders of the Leibstandarte SS "Adolf Hitler".
2:00 pm	Line-up of the standards and flags and of the medal cushion bearer is finished.
2:10 pm	The lighting in the Mosaic Hall is switched on.
14:15	Admission begins.

**EINLASSKARTE**

ZUM STAATSBEGÄBNIS DES STELLVERTRETENDEN  
REICHSPROTEKTORS # OBERGRUPPENFÜHRER UND  
GENERAL DER POLIZEI

**REINHARD HEYDRICH**

im Mosaiksaal der Neuen Reichskanzlei am Dienstag, dem 9. Juni 1942

für \_\_\_\_\_

Die Plätze müssen bis 14.45 Uhr eingenommen sein

Reihe 2 links Platz Nr. 15

Anmerkung:

1. Nur gültig in Verbindung mit einem amtlichen Lichtbildausweis  
2. Anfahrt nur über Wilhelmstraße aus Richtung Unter den Linden

Remark:

Invited are:

Reich Minister, Reichsleiter, State Secretaries, Reich Governors, Gauleiters, Generals, of equal rank in the Party and its branches; furthermore, a group of persons from the Protectorate and the SS appointed by the Reichsführer.

Seats for the guests of honor from the list of the Imperial Government on the right-hand side, the others mainly on the left-hand side, the rest in the last rows on the right-hand side.

There is no right of way into the cour d'honneur. Get off at the level of the passage to the cour d'honneur.

Invitees have received a notification with their admission ticket that they may only enter via Wilhelmstrasse from the direction of Unter den Linden. The vehicles park on the south side of Wilhelmsplatz.

Personalities marching in the funeral cortege to the Invalides Cemetery must follow the vehicles to the cemetery. The other participants in the ceremony will board the vehicles in the parking lot after the ceremony has ended.

The Reich Security Service ensures reliable ticket control at the gate entrance and a second time at the entrance to the Mosaic Hall. Only special admission tickets are valid for entry, and these in turn only in conjunction with an official photo ID.

The Representation Department of the RMVP is responsible for the seating arrangements. This will be joined by 2 + -leaders each from the Reichsführung SS and the Reich Security Main Office. Report for briefing on June 9, 9:00 a.m. in the Mosaiksaal to Reichshauptstellenleiter Scheffler.

The final course assignment must be set up by Monday, June 8, 6:00 pm.

2:50 p.m. Last change of standard bearers, flag bearers, honor guard and medal cushion bearers.

14:50 The Führer's wreath is carried from the anteroom into the Mosaic Hall by 2 officers of the Führer Escort Command and placed on the right side of the podium.

Remark:

The two officers of the Leibstandarte, who were standing next to the Führer's wreath in the anteroom, join the wreath bearers near the podium, who are scheduled to march to the Invalids' Cemetery.

The 6 wreath bearers still required for the Führer's wreath (also to be provided by Leibstandarte SS "Adolf Hitler") line up in the vestibule of the Mosaic Hall and step up to the Führer's wreath when it is carried out in front of the coffin.



14:55 Brigadeführer Gebhardt arrives in the motor vehicle with the two sons of the dead † -Obergruppenführer and the accompanying Mrs. Trenkley at the steps of the mosaic hall and leads them to their seats in the mosaic hall.

15:00 Arrival of the Führer, who is accompanied by the Reichsführer SS.

Start of the act of state:

Funeral music from "Götterdämmerung" by Richard Wagner, played by the Staatskapelle under the direction of Professor Heger (12 minutes).

Afterwards Commemorative speech by the  
Reichsführer SS. Afterwards The Führer lays  
a wreath.

The Staatskapelle plays "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden", 1 verse,  
transitioning into national anthems.

Remark:

At the beginning of the Horst Wessel Song, the cordon moves forward  
into the center aisle of the Mosaic Hall in the usual manner.

Afterwards The Führer addresses the sons of the dead † -Obergruppenführer.



Afterwards The Führer leaves the act of state.

Afterwards The wreath bearers and coffin bearers approach.

Picking up the wreaths.

Parade of standards and flags.

Remark:

The troop flags, the standard and the flags of the police march to the funeral parade, the standards and flags of the General SS to their marching block.

The flags are followed by the wreath bearers, with the Führer's wreath at the end and the medal cushion bearer behind them. The guards of honor sit in front of the coffin in the Mosaic Hall and flank it from the Court of Honour.

The coffin is lifted up before the last wreath bearers leave the podium and immediately connect.

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The sons of the dead † -Obergruppenführer immediately follow the

As soon as the coffin is lifted, the state orchestra plays the funeral march from "Eroica" by Ludwig van Beethoven. Break off as soon as the SS block has left the mosaic hall.

Remark:

In the vestibule of the Mosaic Hall, the sons of the dead † - Obergruppenführer are led off to the left, accompanied by † - Brigadeführer Gebhardt and Mrs. Trenkley. (Breakfast hall). † - Brigadeführer Gebhardt takes over the further care.

The participants in the act of state who march to the Invalides Cemetery follow the coffin. The cordon ensures that the procession follows the edge and seating order.

The participants in the state ceremony, who do not escort the deceased to the Invalidenfriedhof, remain in their seats for the time being. After a request from the management, they move across the courtyard of honor to the sidewalk of Wilhelmstrasse to pay their last respects to the dead † -Obergruppenführer.

When the coffin appears at the steps of the Mosaic Hall, the guard presents the coffin. The drums beat until the coffin has passed through the gateway to Wilhelmstrasse.

Remark:

Immediately after the ceremony begins, the † guard takes up its usual position in front of the steps leading to the Mosaic Hall.

Then, in the width of the two passages, a light honor guard of arms†. The men stand in the posture of honor guards at the Royal Square (looking straight ahead). The command office of the Waffen-†.

When the coffin becomes visible in the passageway of the court of honor, the funeral parade is presented. Drum roll.

Fastening the coffin.

Pallbearers and guards of honor line up on either side of the 6-horse coffin gun carriage.



## V. March to the Invalids' Cemetery

Funeral parade and funeral cortege - also marching order:

- Commander of the funeral parade (General of the
- Waffen-†) Music and marching band of the Waffen-†
- Flag block
- 3 companies of arms† 1
- company army
- 1 company navy
- 1 company of protective police
- 1 anti-aircraft battery
- 1 Air Force music and marching band.
- Wreath bearers (30 wreaths in double row)
- 10 steps distance Wreath of the Reichsführer
- SS 5 steps distance Wreath of the
- Reichsmarschall 10 steps distance Wreath of
- the Führer

10 step distance medal cushion holder  
1 step distance from the tip of the coffin gun mount

Coffin gun carriage

Reichsführer SS  
Field Marshals  
Reich Minister  
Reichsleiter  
State Secretaries  
Reich Governors  
Gauleiter  
Block of † leaders  
Delegation of the Protectorate  
Generals and admirals of the Wehrmacht  
Other mourners  
Music and marching band of the General SS  
Marching block of the General SS (120 men)

Remark:

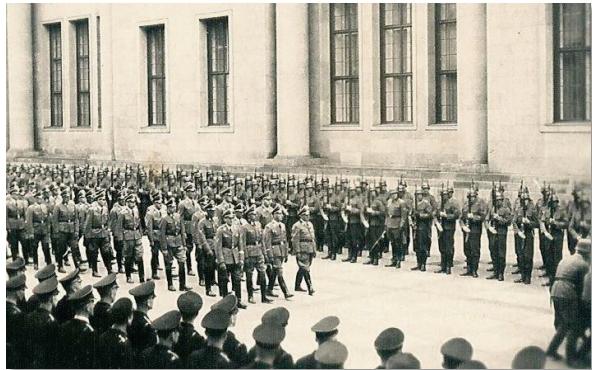
March in a row of 6.

The formation of the funeral parade ends at 15:15. The same applies to the SS marching block in Voßstr. at the tip of Wilhelmsplatz. In front of the † -Marching block Music and marching band of the General SS. Command Office of the Waffen-† provides the sequence officer.

Again  
st  
3:45 p.m. Lining up for the funeral parade.

Marching route:

Wilhelmstraße - Neue Wilhelmstraße - Marschallbrücke - Luisenstraße - Neues Tor - Invalidenstraße - Scharnhorststraße - Invalidenfriedhof (3 km)



The bands take turns playing the following pieces of music during the march to the Invalids' Cemetery:

Funeral March by Chopin

Funeral March from the "Eroica" by

L.v.Beethoven Funeral March by Lüdecke

Funeral march on the song "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden" Note:

Formation of espaliers on both sides of the marching route prompts Gauleitung

Berlin.

The space in front of the Old Reich Chancellery must be kept clear. Participants in the state ceremony will line up here. In front of the Foreign Office building at an appropriate distance from the Old Reich Chancellery.

The Reich Chancellery is to be left open to the public, leaving one entrance and one exit to the Foreign Office free.

#### **VI. Burial at the cemetery for invalids:**

Against

16:30 Arrival of the funeral parade in front of the Invalidenfriedhof. It stops as soon as the front reaches the cemetery entrance and heads towards the cemetery.

The standard and the 3 police flags move to the gravesite in the cemetery.

Wreath and medal bearers march past the funeral parade to the cemetery and remain there until the coffin opens.

The standards and the flags from the marching block of the General SS swing out before reaching the Invalids' Cemetery and reach the grave site through a southern entrance of the Invalids' Cemetery and take up position there with the standard and the 3 flags of the police at the ordered location.

The carriage stops in front of the cemetery entrance. The coffin is removed and carried to the grave. The funeral cortege follows.

At the crypt, the Wehrmacht pallbearers place the coffin and lower it into the crypt. Drum roll until the pallbearers step back.

##### Remark:

Command Office of the  
instruction  
lowering of the coffin.

Weapons-† arranges  
of the coffin bearers on the

A music and marching band of the Schutzpolizei took up position near the crypt at 16:00. Also a salute company, provided by the Wehrmacht commandant's office in Berlin.



After the pallbearers have left, the guards of honor line up on both sides of the crypt.

Afterwards Farewell words from a senior † leader.



Afterwards † -Treuelied, 1st verse

Afterwards "I had a comrade". 1st verse transitions into national anthems.

With the beginning of the song of the good comrade 3 volleys of the salute company.

End.

# REINHARD HEYDRICH

A LIFE OF ACTION



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*The solution to all problems is only possible if  
one tackles them as an uncompromising  
National Socialist.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Reinhard Heydrich would have been 40 years old on 7 March 1944. This date, which is particularly significant for Bohemia and Moravia, the last place where he was active, provides an opportunity to an overall view of his activities, led him to the highest positions in the party and state in just a few years. Although as Deputy Reich Protector, alongside his position as head of the Security Police and the SD, he was only granted just eight months to see his wide-ranging political, cultural and socio-economic ideas put into practice, his ideas live on in the men who inherited this rich legacy. Eight months is only a short period of time in the history of an individual. Measured against the development of a nation, they seem to be nothing. But the fact that they became a time of upheaval and reorganisation for Bohemia and Moravia is due to the formative power of Reinhard Heydrich's personality, whose work unforgotten. The "heartland of the empire" saw at its head a man who gave it much and whose influence still be felt in the distant future. When his mortal remains were laid to rest on 7 June 1942 at

When Reinhard Heydrich left the old German imperial castle in Prague on a radiantly beautiful day and took his leave in a solemn procession through the whole city, passing by the silent witnesses of Prague's German past, those for whom history is not the mere passing of time, but who see in it the work of creative men, felt that the work of Reinhard Heydrich cannot and has not been extinguished. This is the only way to sense of Reinhard Heydrich's sacrifice. The publication of this brochure, commissioned by the German Minister of State for Bohemia and Moravia, Obergruppenführer ~~H~~ K. H. Frank, is therefore an act of gratitude to the man who, in a serious hour in the recent history of Bohemia and Moravia, intercepted the attack from this area directed against the Reich in good time, crushed it with all the means of power at his disposal and thus laid the foundation for a healthy development in all areas of life. At the same time, however, may it be both a warning and an obligation to all those who have been entrusted with the difficult but rewarding task of creating in Bohemia and Moravia to work in the spirit of Reinhard Heydrich, fell for the greatness of the Reich, to ensure that this area, which Bismarck once called the "Citadel of Europe", has become one of the most powerful supporting The centrepiece of the kingdom and gives every inhabitant a feeling of security. The contents of the brochure are intended to provide a comprehensive picture of the personality and work of Reinhard Heydrich.

A detailed appraisal of his work as head of the security police and the SD can be found in Wilhelm Spengler's essay "Reinhard Heydrich, work and character". His fundamental

The essays not only show the scope of the activities of the Security Police and SD, but also reveal the profound ethical content of the new tasks Reinhard Heydrich set for the German political police. The essay by ~~SS~~-Obergruppenführer K. H. Frank "Reinhard Heydrich's Work for Bohemia and Moravia", a review of Reinhard Heydrich's eight months of work as deputy Reich Protector, shows in a detailed overall view how many current issues Reinhard Heydrich took up and mastered in a very short time or prepared for a solution in large planning guidelines. The pro- grammatical essay "The Wenceslas Tradition" reveals how thoroughly Reinhard Heydrich himself concerned himself with the historical foundations of his task in Bohemia and Moravia, and how much endeavoured to show the Czech population the constructive path of unity with the Reich based on their history. His speech on the occasion of the reopening of the old German art centre, the Rudolfinum in Prague, in which he made a devout commitment to music as the medium of true beauty, his words to the maiden members of the Reich Labour Service, through which he knocked the slogan of the militarisation of German women out our opponents' hands, and his heroic memorial service on 15 March 1942 are documents of a manhood that has rarely been embodied in such a spiritually and racially noble form. Walter Wannenmacher's essay "Reinhard Heydrich", written after the deputy Reichsprotektor's death, shows the statesmanlike logic and consistency with which Reinhard Heydrich took the political organisation of the Bohemian-Moravian region into his own hands.

A summary assessment of Reinhard Heydrich's personality and life's work can be found in the commemorative speech by the Reichs führer ~~H~~ on the occasion of the state ceremony for the fallen ~~H~~-Ober-gruppenführer on 7 June 1942 in Berlin. His words, dedicated to his fallen comrade and fellow fighter, show that in Reinhard Heydrich a National Socialist who was capable of and called to great things was prematurely recalled to the "Horst Wessel" standard.

## L E B E N S T A F E L

Y 7. März	1904	<i>Halle an der Saale</i>
	1922	<i>Eintritt in die Reichsmarine</i>
	1926	<i>Leutnant zur See</i>
	1928	<i>Oberleutnant zur See</i>
	1931	<i>Eintritt in die SS</i>
29. Juli	1932	<i>SS-Standartenführer und Chef des Sicherheitsdienstes des Reichsführers-SS</i>
	1933	<i>SS-Brigadeführer</i>
17. Juni	1936	<i>Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD</i>
	1940	<i>Wahl zum Präsidenten der Interna- tionalen Kriminalpolizeilichen Kommission</i>
	1941	<i>SS-Obergruppenführer und General der Polizei</i>
27. September	1941	<i>Stellvertretender Reichsprotektor</i>
27. Mai	1942	<i>Mordanschlag in Prag</i>
A 4. Juni	1942	<i>Prag</i>



## LIFE AND WORK

*The SS and the D and the Reichspolizei are a part of this SS is the shock troop of the party in all things of the leadership of internal politics of the area and the internalisation of the national socialist idea. The term "shock troop" means that it is always one step ahead of the main body, that it is particularly well armed, ready for action and able to fight. But it also means that it does not do anything that does not conform to the will and plans of the overall leadership. The prerequisite for the task of realising the idea, however, is a deep understanding, thinking into the problems and acting from the knowledge of the problems, not just a superficial efficiency, but a thorough grasp of things. It cannot merely an executive external elect and fulfilment of things and the fulfilment of orders. so we act as executing organs in the awareness of the end of the leader and the right, - those ending that leads to a happy future via the Greater German Reich.*

*Reinhard Heydrich 2 October 1941*

WILHELM SPENGLER  
REINHARD HEYDRICH  
WORK AND  
CHARACTER

A time like ours, full of world-historical events coming thick and fast, as if the breath of world history were moving more quickly, must be more forgetful than other times, if only because the present demands all our strength and fixes our gaze on the future of the kingdom.

As the anniversary of Reinhard Heydrich's death as a blood witness for the Reich approaches, we can nevertheless say that he has not been forgotten! On the contrary, the main features of his work and character have become clearer before our inner eye in the intervening years, and what is imperishable about this work has become more deeply in our consciousness. What the Reich lost in him, no one can measure definitively, just as of the many best sons of the nation, whose early death for the fatherland also means that the deeds of their later mature manhood remain undone. Those who were around Reinhard Heydrich could only see how he belonged, to an extraordinary degree, to those men who themselves grow ever larger as their tasks increase and how, in the midst of this constant inner growth, the trajectory of his life was violently shattered. This growth, which had not yet come to a standstill

The greatness of his personality, his never-ceasing creative and active drive gave the deep and at the same time painful certainty that his death robbed the Reich not only of the creator of a unique, completed work, but even more of an unborn work. But even his accomplished achievement for the Reich has hidden from the general public to this day - in keeping with the nature of his political mission. They could only guess at it when the Führer awarded the fallen Reinhard Heydrich the highest honour that can be bestowed on a German - the highest level of the Teutonic Order - and the following parting words to the deceased: "He was one of the strongest defenders of the German Reich idea, one of the greatest opponents of all enemies of this Reich."

His achievement to have given the leadership of the Reich, for the first time in history, a unified political police force and a comprehensive political intelligence service that overcame the fragmented state and territorial traditions and was filled with a completely new meaning. The external realisation: In 1931, the 27-year-old radio operator and communications lieutenant Reinhard Heydrich retired from the Reichsmarine and joined the small Hamburg squadron as an ordinary . -He joins the small Hamburg squadron as an ordinary man and becomes the man of the fighting in Hamburg's red neighbourhoods. In July of the same year, the Reichsführer **44** summoned him to the Reich leadership in Munich and entrusted him with his new task: to create a powerful political intelligence service for the movement in every direction. This was the birth of the Security Service,

of the SD. After seizing power, the Reich Leader ~~Hitler~~ transferred the political department of the Munich police headquarters to him, from which he formed the Bavarian Political Police within a few weeks, after which the political police forces of all non-Prussian states were quickly reorganised in rapid succession. On 20 April 1934, the Prussian Secret State Police was incorporated into this new structure as the keystone. The year 1936 brought the new Reich Police by decree of the Führer, and at the age of 32 Heydrich became the head of the Security Police and the SD, to whom the Security Service (SD), the Secret State Police and the Criminal Police of the Reich were subordinate.

However, it is crucial to recognise what inner character Heydrich gave to this part of the young police force of the National Socialist Reich in carrying out the instructions given by the Reichsführer ~~Hitler~~ and what basic ideological considerations he took as his starting point. It is one of the tragic facts of German history that in the past the German Reich did not have a comprehensive political intelligence service working in the interests of the Reich - tragic both in terms of foreign policy and domestic policy. In terms of foreign policy, because the foreign intelligence services developed from long traditions, the British Intelligence Service, the French "Deuxieme Bureau", the Tsarist Ochrana and the Soviet GPU, had long scanned the respective political world constellations and analysed them for their countries before Germany came into play; in terms of domestic policy, because the respective heads of state were so little informed about the real situation among the people during tests of the state's strength that even measures intended to bring help and détente could not be implemented.

and turned into disaster. We need only recall the Kaiser's speech to the armaments workers in the West in 1917, when the first crises appeared there and the Kaiser wanted to master the situation again with his personal words, but in his ignorance of the real situation he made such a mistake in his choice of words that his speech only exacerbated the situation.

When the National Socialist leadership therefore decided to create such a political intelligence service, the question arose as to what extent the nature and methods of the already existing foreign intelligence services could be adopted for the new apparatus to be developed in Germany. Here, however, the absolutely decisive fact remains that these intelligence services were not only not copied in any way, but that the Reichsführer **44** and Reinhard Heydrich developed their security service and the political police with a completely different character exclusively from the core ideas of the National Socialist world view and the essential requirements of the German human being. The idea of race is, after all, the central idea of National Socialism, and from it it developed its concept of the people. We are of the unshakeable belief that the highest basic values of human existence are biologically present in Germanic-German man, but that in the course of its history the German people has failed to total self-realisation and self-expression of its essence, because ideological alienation and power restrictions have repeatedly intervened as obstacles. National Socialism strives for nothing other than to enable the German people, for the first time in its history, to realise its own essence in new ways of life, forms of life and ways of living.

sufficient living space. At the same time, however, the basic positions of a political Reichspolizei and a political intelligence service were defined. If there is to be an intelligence service as a link between this individually multi-coloured, tradition-rich, multi-divided German people and its political leadership, which is to inform this leadership about all developments and dangers in this national body in its most diverse areas of life, landscapes and classes, in order to provide the leadership with documents again and again to eliminate dangers, to eliminate undesirable developments and to drive forward the positive self-portrayal of the German people in new life situations - then the bearers of such an intelligence service and such a police force can by no means be agents and informers, terrorists and subjects of questionable character, but only men who belong to this German people with their whole heart, who understand and understand it from within, who are committed to serving this people and for this people have wholeheartedly committed themselves to it. In this sense, the SS has been designated the core troop of this political intelligence service and this police force, because it has given itself in its men and clans the realisation of German manhood and humanity as its highest life commitment. And this same SS has become the carrier of the political Reichspolizei, because only its own highest and unreserved commitment to the Reich of the Germans and the belief in its idea and mission can fulfil its mission, prudence and at the same time the toughness to recognise and combat all forces hostile to the Reich and the people in every form and guise. In this sense, Reinhard Heydrich saw the moulding of the people,

The selection, education and training of its men laid the decisive foundation for a completely new meaning of a political police force and a political intelligence service. What had once been a police bureau gradually grew into an ideologically moulded state security corps for the protection of the Reich, shaped from within. What could Reinhard Heydrich and his men care if enemy abroad poured buckets of slander over the German "Gestapo" and the SD - it could only take the measure of its own shoes, the Intelligence Service, the GPU and so on, since the ideological basic law according to which this new German police force had been set up must inevitably remain hidden and incomprehensible to it. All the more so, as the disseminators of such grey lies abroad and at home were, racially and intellectually and ideologically, the personified forces hostile to the Reich, who had already duly felt the force and implacability of these new instruments of the Reich.

Heydrich trained his men to no longer think and work in terms of individual police "cases", but to see and evaluate each individual case in the larger context of German national development. The forces hostile to the Reich had to be analysed down to their last intellectual and personal local contexts. As early as 1935 Heydrich had given his men the slogan that two things were decisive for the successful continuation and completion of the struggle for the Reich: "The correct recognition of the enemy in his deepest essence and the unified view of one's own tasks and also of one's own mistakes with all the prerequisites and consequences." And the Reichsführer-~~SS~~ gave him

confirmed in his commemorative speech: "At the beginning of 1938, the Security Police was already a largely stabilised apparatus in every respect and equipped for all tasks. Today it can be said without hesitation that Heydrich had great merit in the bloodless invasions of the Ostmark, the Sudetenland and Bohemia and Moravia as well as in the liberation of Slovakia through his careful identification and conscientious registration of all opponents and a clear overview, usually down to the smallest detail, of the activities of the enemy in these countries, their organisational bodies and their leaders." -From this categorisation of all individual cases in the life of the people in terms of their significance and their danger to the community, Heydrich also carried out the internal reorganisation of the criminal police. Who would have previously thought of classifying criminal offences such as theft, robbery and murder as political events! But the moment these crimes are not judged from the civilian perpetrator's point of view, but as offences against the orderly life of the community, as a reduction of the constructive power of the people, the criminal act moves into the sphere of national political significance. Viewed from the perspective of the life of the community, the prosecution and judgement of the crime that has already been committed is relegated to an exclusively secondary process - but first priority is given to the preventive fight against crime, which on the one hand protects the community from the outset from attacks and disruptions by criminals, and on the other hand creates living conditions for criminally inclined people that prevent them from stumbling from the outset. The extent to which Heydrich also broke new ground in this respect can be seen from the fact that he was elected President of the International Criminal Police Commission in 1940.

The second essential characteristic that Reinhard Heydrich imprinted on his Security Police and SD was the internal dynamics of this apparatus. Just as the leadership of the Reich had been confronted with ever new tasks and problems at a truly revolutionary pace of development since taking power

- Thus this State Protection Corps, although still in the process of formed and growing, had to organised as an instrument of this leadership in such a flexible, changeable and developable way that it could keep pace with the ever new tasks of the Reich at any moment. As early as 1935, Heydrich gave his men a short instruction booklet entitled "Wandlungen unseres Kampfes" (Changes in our Campaign), and when the leadership was faced with new tasks and problems, he always translated these new Reich problems into political-police and intelligence tasks in the appeals of his leadership corps. With this internal dynamic of his appa- rate, he often demanded the very best performance from his men and was more willing to accept being considered harsh or not being understood when dismissing employees he deemed inadequate than to jeopardise the task for the Reich. For example, in the years following the takeover of power, the SD was able to limit itself to primarily recording the ideological and political opponents, Freemasons, Jews, Marxists, Communists and the politicising clergy in their effects and connections in the national body in terms of intelligence, but just a few years later it was much more important for the development work of the party and the state to determine which forces, traditions, local developments and conditions could be used to realise the National Socialist objectives in the most diverse areas of life in the economy,

culture, administration and so on. Comprehensive factual insight into the various professions and contexts of life was the first prerequisite for news work in this direction. And finally, when the war turned the war potential of the German people in every form a primary political factor for the leadership of the Reich, a political intelligence service had to continuously provide the leadership of the party, state and Wehrmacht with the documents that were necessary for them to form a judgement on the numerous war measures. - The working perspectives of the political police changed to no less an extent. With a numerically unimaginably small apparatus, many times more tasks have to be solved. The political-police security task of the old Reich became the security task of almost all of Europe. With small commandos, the greatest tasks are to be solved, from the northernmost Norway to the southern tip of the Balkans, from the occupied countries of the West to the border regions of the vast Russian area. However, the picture of Heydrich's work would be all too incomplete if it were not for the fact that he led the followers entrusted to him to the greatest extent by his personal example. What he demanded of his men in terms of performance, tenacity and perseverance, restless work on oneself, cleanliness and simplicity of personal conduct, Heydrich not only demanded himself, but realised in an exemplary manner. He was a chivalrous personality, even when confronting his opponent. The fact that he was an outstanding fencer and sportsman meant more to him than just a sporting virtue, but rather symbolised the way in which he lived his life.

The structure of his being. His followers him in the highest personal esteem, because everyone knew how restlessly he worked, how simple his lifestyle , how he could not be surpassed in his ability to grasp things quickly and make the quickest decisions that were absolutely right to the heart of the matter, how once he had worked on a matter, it was indelibly imprinted on his memory and how the threads of this widely ramified apparatus ran together securely and compellingly in his hand. He was a true leader to his followers because he was first in everything. It was certainly the nature of his office that, as the head of a political intelligence service and the political Reich police, which dealt with all areas of life, an often unimaginable wealth of life processes and problems converged on him. For his co-workers, however, it was always surprising to see the breadth of mind and the original personal interest with which he dealt with and processed all these issues, regardless of whether they were problems of the economy, national policy, education, administration, the school system, the treatment of minorities, science, art and folk culture, church policy and so on. So it happens that in the year after his death, when our When our eyes fell on his portrait in our study, it became more than just a reminiscent view, it was often like a personal encounter that us confidence and strength. Moments rise up from memory that encapsulate Heydrich's essence particularly succinctly, such as the motto he gave his commandos on the march to the East:

"Be hard where you have to be hard, be kind where you are allowed to be kind."

KARL HERMANN FRANK  
REINHARD HEYDRICH'S WORK  
FOR BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

When the Reich Protector Freiherr von Neurath fell ill at the end of September 1941, I was ordered to the Führer's headquarters to give a lecture on the political situation in Bohemia and Moravia. After detailed discussions, the Führer decided on 27 September 1941 to entrust ~~SS~~-Obergruppenführer and General of the Police Reinhard Heydrich with the management of the Reich Protector's affairs in Bohemia and Moravia. Heydrich was summoned to the Führer's headquarters to take over full responsibility. This gave me the opportunity to get to know the Chief of the Security Police and the SD better. While still at headquarters, then on the return journey to Berlin and in several conferences at his office, we discussed the situation, made decisions about the management of the office and drew up plans for the political line and organisation Reich policy in Bohemia and Moravia. Heydrich set to work enthusiastically with his political skills, honed over many years of work, and quickly became so familiar with the new task and the joint work that the difficult problems could soon be mastered. As unexpected and surprising as Heydrich's election to the

At first glance, the purpose and task of this appointment seemed to clear, as Heydrich was head of the Security Police and the SD and it was believed that all conclusions could be regarding his future leadership. The immediate task Heydrich saw himself confronted with after his appointment was initially of a purely police nature. He summed it up at the time in the pithy words: "I have to make the Czech population realise that it cannot ignore the realities of its affiliation and obedience to the Reich." We remember that at the end of the summer of 1941 the anti-German wave, which had swelled to pan-Slavic-Bolshevik rallies on the occasion of the outbreak of hostilities with Yugoslavia, swelled again considerably. An illegal military and political organisation, equipped with the modern means of terror and sabotage, set about gaining influence over the masses in terms of leadership and propaganda. This resistance movement not only had the closest possible contact with the London émigré government via short-wave transmitters; it also had a secret confidant and supporter in the Prime Minister of the autonomous government, who had not shied away from feigning loyalty and allegiance to the Reich Protector by pledging his officer's honour, while he was in league with the plot against the Reich. The front of active resistance and passive resistance stretched from the highest echelons of the autonomous government, through the ministers, right down to the surreptitious traders, pushers, saboteurs and Jews. The method with which Heydrich hit the most dangerous opponents in a few days, the entire illegal apparatus in a few weeks

and destroyed, already revealed the political instinct with which he ordered measures that went beyond the necessity of an executive purge. An outside observer during these weeks, apart from the restrictions on speaking hours, would hardly have thought that he was witnessing the suppression of a planned attempt at insurrection. No Wehrmacht or police units marched, nor were there any armed clashes. Heydrich's blow was also not directed against the crowd of fellow travellers, who were merely the product of illegal incitement. He seized the heads of the attack and thus the main pests, but without regard to the rank of the state offices they held. The outcome of the trial against Prime Minister Elias, his extensive confession and the court proceedings against a number of generals and officers of the former Czechoslovakian army, against high ministerial officials down to the small, unconvincing fanatics, proved the accuracy of the seizure. As the Jew had also proved to be the bacillus of all political destruction in the context of this resistance work, this issue was also taken up with the utmost consistency and the labelling of Jews and their placement in ghettos was ordered.

After a few weeks, not only the immediate task solved and the serious threat to security eliminated, but despite the harshness of the measures, it was also possible to raise positive and understanding voices among the Czech people, albeit sporadically at first. This was due to the fact that Heydrich was never content with the purely negative goal of a security measure, but also endeavoured to

to achieve a positive purpose through necessary negative measures. This can be most clearly in the way economic pests were combated. There is no doubt that a large part of the Czech rural population, following the example of the leading men of the Czech Ministry of Agriculture, had withdrawn around a quarter of the grain stocks from collection. Tough action against recognised pests, coupled with understanding concessions in the endeavour not to let the little man suffer for the mistakes of his leaders, meant that the penalty-free re-registration of grain stocks resulted in up to 20 percent of the previously declared stocks, while the re-registration of pigs resulted in a figure of 560000. What these figures meant in terms of food policy becomes clear when one realises that this meant that the previously necessary additional deliveries of grain from within the Reich could be dispensed with.

In his speech to the German leadership and administrative apparatus on 2 October 1941, Reinhard Heydrich introduced himself with the following words: "Gentlemen! You see me as the head of the security police and the SD, you generally see me as the man of the executive. This view is erroneous and false." In these words lay the confession of a man who saw his work not as a cleansing operation, but in its total character as a task of political organisation. Reinhard Heydrich already realised this in the first weeks of his work in Prague. Even then, one could recognise that he was not only the representative of executive intervention and police prevention, but the man of a statesmanlike creative initiative. This attitude explains the serious endeavours to achieve an orderly

the development of Czech national life. It is understandable that Heydrich, as the man who was probably forced to take the most serious and harshest measures against the Czech people, presented them with the Wenceslas tradition as a constructive and political idea, the historical doctrine that had already shown the Czech people the way to the Reich a thousand years ago as the only life-sustaining concept. The ceremonial act in the Wenceslas Chapel of Prague Castle on 19 November 1941, during which the President Dr Hacha handed over the seven keys of the Coronation Chamber to the Deputy Reich Protector and received three of them back in trust, symbolically sealed the relationship of trust between Reinhard Heydrich and the President, which was based on this spiritual foundation. The Deputy Reich Protector repeatedly received the Czech press because wanted his measures to be truthfully interpreted in public in order to a growing relationship of trust with the people of Bohemia and Moravia. The results of the measures in the areas of social and agricultural policy show the extent to which this was successful. Already in the fight against surreptitious trade, he had upheld the principle that the confiscated stocks primarily benefit the working population, as they been primarily evaded. He therefore favoured company canteens by allocating confiscated food. In addition, he dealt in detail with the issues of the wage problem, feeding and clothing the labour force and their welfare. As early as 28 October 1941, following approval by the Führer, the fat rations were brought into line with the old Reich rates.

for two million manual labourers. By drawing on confiscated funds from chain and sneak traders, it was possible to provide the Czech labour force with up to 200,000 pairs of work shoes free of charge. The ordinances for the improvement of social security from 1 April 1942 as well as the recreation campaign for armaments workers in Bad Luhatschowitz created by him are the best expression of his socialist thinking for the needs of the Czech workforce. His interventions also yielded fruitful results in the field of agricultural policy. He made the Czech peasant realise that poor production was first and foremost detrimental to himself. Since he recognised that the coexistence of the multitude of agricultural organisations, associations and cooperatives stood in the way of rational agricultural production, because these organisations were not tools for feeding the people but "factors of political influence", he created the conditions for the emergence of today's unified federation in the field of food policy. It is also significant that it was Reinhard Heydrich who made the Czech worker and farmer "socially acceptable" at Prague Castle. It was under him that the first receptions of Czech workers' and peasants' delegations took place in the rooms of Prague Castle. In addition to this special care for the workers and peasants, he endeavoured to give the economy of the Protectorate a status commensurate with its importance and achievements within the Reich. This was reflected in the fact that the conference of the South-East Europe Society was held in Prague on 17 December 1941. In the introductory words that he prefaced the conference, he clearly outlined the

He also offered the cooperation of Bohemia and Moravia in the economic development of the newly acquired eastern region. At the economic level, this demonstrates the high level from which he set the Protectorate its tasks. As the political line pursued in the protectorate did not aim to achieve the effect of present-day measures, but rather the creation of a sustainable domestic political foundation in Bohemia and Moravia, the reorganisation of the Czech autonomous government and the restructuring of the entire administrative apparatus could not be ignored. Heydrich himself, in his speech of 20 January 1942 to the members of the new government formed by the President with his approval, he described the constitutional process not as a "normal change of person", but as a "historically significant change of direction". The new government was to form with him "a leadership and working group based on mutual trust for the solution of all tasks in this area". However, as clear trust also requires clear responsibility, he abolished the principle of collective responsibility of the College of Ministers in the new government, which had previously been practised and which in a collective irresponsibility, and replaced it with the principle of departmental responsibility of each individual minister. The administrative reform represented an even stronger act of trust, which he presented in a press conference on the day before the attack on him. The most important aspect of the administrative reform was the major dismantling of the German administrative apparatus in the Protectorate and the transfer of a large part of its responsibilities to the new government.

the autonomous administration. Far from any departmental egotism, Reinhard Heydrich reduced the Reich's own administrative apparatus to what was absolutely necessary, anticipating the need to reduce the number of people this winter, in accordance with the idea of the autonomous self-government of Bohemia and Moravia.

The introduction of compulsory youth service for Czech youths met a frequently expressed need in closed Czech circles, who concerned about the danger of the nihilistic decline of their youth. As Heydrich himself once grown up under the natural laws of a healthy youth movement, he was particularly close to these issues. He recognised that "Bohemia and Moravia will only be able to keep pace in its development if its youth also enjoys an education that justice to the great political tasks of Bohemia and Moravia in the Reich". It must be pointed out that Reinhard Heydrich, by introducing compulsory youth service, gave Czech youth an educational opportunity on a par with that in Europe and thus carried out an act of equality with the other peoples, which Czech youth would not have been able to do on their own without the help of the Reich. It was precisely this initiative for the benefit of the Czech people that prompted the criminals in London to give the final order for murder.

An appreciation of Reinhard Heydrich's work for Bohemia and Moravia would not be complete without honouring his services to the Germans of this region. Here, too, he was just as fond of harsh intervention as he was of shaping life in a positive way. His first executive measures were aimed at the same

way to those aristocrats who made money from the war, "to work here in the interests of the Reich, but in reality were only here for the sake of personal profit and were damaging the reputation of the Reich". He took a strong stand against the elements of nationalist unreliability and demanded of the Germans in this region that they must first and foremost prove their irreproachability as National Socialists before all justified or unjustified claims. "Enemy of all enemies and guardian of all things German", he once said, was how he saw his task for the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. He favoured the German culture of this region. The architectural uniqueness of Prague had also made a strong impression on him. He managed to interest Reich Minister Speer in Prague and to arrange a visit to Prague, which was filled with fruitful architectural plans for the architectural design of Prague after the victory. The German universities found a special patron and patroniser in Reinhard Heydrich. The oldest university of the Reich was not only to maintain a status worthy of its tradition, but was to become a pioneer in its work for the interpenetration of science with the national needs of the Reich. It is significant that the majority of the new chairs created under him were of an ethnological nature. In addition, he created the conditions for a Reich foundation for folk and humanities research, which was given the name "Reinhard Heydrich Foundation" after his death.

He repeatedly paid attention to Prague's German theatres. Above all, it is thanks to him that the budget for the establishment of a German operetta was approved.

His plans also included the establishment of a permanent opera house in Prague. On 16 October 1941, on the occasion of a state ceremony to mark the opening of the Rudolfinum, he announced the awarding of the Reich Protector's Culture Prize to three German artists. His closest relationship, however, was with the art of music. His interest in music stemmed from his artistic disposition, as he came from a well-known family of musicians in Halle. He was particularly focussed on the German philharmonic orchestra. He played a special part in organising the Prague Music Weeks in 1942, which he prefaced with the following words: "Music is the creative language of musical and artistic people as a mediator of their inner life." On the eve of the attack on him, he attended a house music evening in the Waldstein Hall, at which one of his father's works was performed by his former colleagues, a quartet from Halle. Thus, just a few days before the end of his life, the music-filled world of his parents' house, from which Reinhard Heydrich's militant life had taken its start, was symbolised. Only truly great people are able to unfold a power that shapes the present and the future in a short period of their work. This power to shape and shape beyond death emanated from Reinhard Heydrich. The diversity of the tasks he assigned, the clarity of his political vision and, above all, the unique impetus of his leadership personality entitle us to speak of Reinhard Heydrich's political legacy for Bohemia and Moravia, which was founded in that short period of time from September 1941 to May 1942 in the closest comradely cooperation and to the uncompromising realisation of which committed ourselves before Heydrich's bier.

## THE SPEECHES OF REINHARD HEYDRICH

*Die Wenzeltradition birgt die Erkenntnis, daß Böhmen und Mähren  
groß nur mit dem Reich und stets schwach ohne das Reich sein wird.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*

## THE WENCESLAS TRADITION

On 19 November 1941, during the ceremonial viewing of the coronation jewels in the Wenceslas Chapel, President Dr Hacha handed over the seven keys and received three of the seven keys for safekeeping. This symbolic act put an end to centuries of doubt and once again marked the consistency of the leader's decisive act on 16 March 1939.

This celebration provides opportunity to recall the Wenceslas tradition in all its depth and to emphasise its historical significance for the relationship between this region and the empire in the past, present and future. After the emigration of a large part of the Germanic population, other peoples advanced into this area from the east, from which - in the course of the centuries in strong mixture with the Germanic elements - the present population emerged. This advance was an east-west movement in terms both mentality and political conception. In the course of political and national development, the need to find a clear relationship with the western and eastern neighbours soon arose. This initially resulted in the striving for independence and autonomy and led to a number of battles for self-assertion against the neighbouring peoples. Culturally, a detachment from the East and a rapprochement with Western ideas had emerged in the meantime.

The geopolitical conditions forced the people of Bohemia and Moravia in various eras to seek the help of the empire against their eastern and south-eastern neighbours and resulted in a rational subordination and integration into the empire. From this point onwards, the population of Bohemia and Moravia lived for centuries (also in terms of attitude) in the conflict between East and West, the political condition of belonging to the empire and the striving for independence. Time and again in the history of Bohemia and Moravia and its inhabitants, phenomena have played a role that we have also seen emerge fatefully in recent decades, indeed in recent weeks and months. Unfortunately, it was a bad habit of these people to bow their heads and promise loyalty after military or political defeats, but to break their word and go back on the old path when the leadership of the empire they had joined withdrew militarily in reliance on this word. In history, it is sometimes the kings and rulers themselves who treason, sometimes it is the vassals of the rulers who call for rebellion and treason, even against their own ruler, who was loyal to the leadership of the empire. In this sense, the fate of St Wenceslas and his subsequent brother Boleslaus is the tragic example of this overall development, but also the historical symbol of the clear political consequences of the present and future. Recognising the historical necessity Wenceslas had finally joined the empire and thus for the first time took up a position against the East. The rebels who, under the leadership of his brother Boleslaus, opposed this statesmanlike stance, were not able to stop it.

Even then, those who were concerned with Wenceslas's rule, misjudging the historical destiny of this region and its eternal interrelationship with the Empire, overthrew Wenceslas and his idea in good faith, murdered him themselves and under Boleslaus tried again to be a bastion against the West. Even then, fate and space were stronger. Boleslaus himself - in the course of his experiences and adventures - found his way back into the empire after fighting against the East. - Hacha's decision in March 1939, which enabled the Führer to make the final historical decision, corresponds to the spirit of the true Wenceslas tradition. The rebels against the Reich from the September-October days of that year were judged because they not only failed to grasp this Wenceslas tradition, but also because, in breaking through old Eastern habits, practising disloyalty, they the Reich in the back in order to turn the bastion against the East into one against the West. In doing so, they forgot that the leadership of the empire had to be warned by the experiences of history and prepared for the return of these phenomena. The Wenceslas tradition contains the realisation that Bohemia and Moravia will only be great with the Empire and always weak without it. But it also shows us that the population - taking into account the presence of many German ancestors - finally sees the obligation to draw the consequences from this historical experience in terms of their inner attitude and in the education of their youth. In this way, the initially external aspects of this ceremonial act in the Coronation Chapel became a binding guideline for the people of Bohemia and Moravia in the spirit of true Wenceslas tradition.

*Wahres Führen hat nur Sinn und Erfolg, wenn Menschen zu Mitarbeitern erkämpft werden, die dann aus innerer Überzeugung an der gemeinsamen Aufgabe mitwirken für den Führer und das Reich.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*

SPEECH TO BDM, LABOUR AND WAR  
RELIEF SERVICES  
MAIDEN AT THE  
RUDOLFINUM IN PRAGUE ON  
17 MARCH 1942

*You girls and maidens!*

Tonight you have shown in word and song a cross-section of all that you are able to do with your strength for the Führer and the German people in the war. Many a spoilt little doll has worked in your community and learned to understand the meaning of work and has become a proper German girl.

It is precisely on this militant and historically significant soil of Bohemia and Moravia that it seems right to me to point out those principles whose innermost realisation is the prerequisite not only for your achievements, but for the future of German youth in general.

In earlier times, young people were initially superficial, pleasure-seeking and indifferent to the problems of the future of the nation and the empire. In later times - especially in the days of the youth of the alliance - the spiritual attitude of the youth became cramped and turned into self-conceited sectarianism. Today we are striving towards the goal of possessing a youth which, from an inner ideological certainty, can approach the world with youthful ease and vigour.

The youth should approach problems and master life without superficiality and frivolity with the aim of personal and professional achievement. The youth should take a serious and conscious view of the great problems of the Reich, without neglecting and forgetting their youthful cheerfulness and joy in the closeness of life, but also, conversely, not get carried away with joy and overlook the seriousness and necessity of the great problems. In short, she should be National Socialist in her personal life.

This is not expressed by always talking only about world views and political problems, but being a national socialist is a question of character, following the example of the Führer.

The basic elements of education are imparted through youth leadership, the teacher and the parental home. - However, they are deepened in the further development of the young person through the correct realisation of oneself, through critical self-examination and ultimately through self-discipline. In turn, its basic ideas are self-knowledge, the unvarnished and true recognition of one's own faults and the iron will to remedy these and overcome oneself. The main ideas of the educational content are the uncompromising purity of German blood, uncompromising striving for clarity of character, love of truth, modesty, pride that does not tolerate arrogance, healthy ambition that does not egotistically demand the highest performance and, last but not least, the endeavour to achieve the highest professional performance.

But for you, girls and maidens, I would like to add one more thing: Despite all your self-discipline and self-control, you must not

militarise and harden in lockstep. The most beautiful thing about a woman - and especially a German woman - is her womanliness, her femininity, which in itself a woman beautiful. Guard your femininity in all your work and in all your actions. The war also denies young people a great many pleasures. Not only do you share in the tremendous experience of the greatest times of Germanness, but you can later realise with inner satisfaction that even in your youth you were allowed to help create, build and fight in the Führer's work, in the new Greater Germany, in the new Europe. And especially in this area in Bohemia and Moravia, which has been regained to the Reich in terms of constitutional and military law, in this area you have a special task to fulfil, whether you are Germans from this narrower area or come from the Greater German Reich, as role models, as convincing German people within the framework of the militant German community. And whether you fulfil your tasks in the country, in the office, in the city, in the narrower German area or in contact with the Czech inhabitants of this country, always be aware that much depends on the work, on the attitude of each and every one of you, and thus much is contributed to the completion of the tasks which the Führer has set us all.

Wherever you are and wherever you stand and work, you must be the bearers of the idea, the role models of National Socialism in unshakeable faith in the Führer and in Germany. And so we now want to commemorate him together, who is building the future of the Reich for you in particular, German youth, German girls and maidens, to whom we owe everything: Adolf Hitler.

*Musik ist die schöpferische Sprache musischer und musikalischer Menschen als Mittler ihres inneren Lebens.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*

TO THE CELEBRATIVE REOPENING OF  
THE RUDOLFINUM IN PRAGUE AS A  
GERMAN ART CENTRE ON  
16. OCTOBER 1941

*Party high, vere7rte yawners!*

Today, as Deputy Reich Protector, I have the honour of completing the structural renovation of the Rudolphine Museum in a ceremonial act of state, which was ordered by the ill Reich Protector, Reich Minister Baron von Neurath, on 11 April 1940 and announced at a party celebration on 30 June of the same year.

Let me start by soberly outlining the history of this cultural site in data. It tells us, without romanticising, the fateful development of this area over the last few decades.

In 1872, on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, the Bohemian Savings Bank - at that time an entirely German institution - decided to organise a project "To erect a building dedicated to music, the visual arts and the applied arts".

Built between 1876 and 1884, this house of art was named "Rudolfinum" after Crown Prince Rudolf on 7 February 1885 and ceremoniously opened. The Rudolfinum served its original purpose for 33 years:

*The centre of German concert events:* Men such as Karl Muck and the opera composer Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek, who is still alive today, made their way from here. The organ installed in the large concert hall was taken over by the greatest composer of the day, Anton Bruckner.

A Home for the Prague Konhervatorium, founded in 1911 by the "Verein zur Förderung der Fonkunft in Bö7men", one of the oldest German music education institutions of its kind. The exhibition and ammulation of the works of art of the 1796 founded "Gehellhc7aft patriotihc7er Kunhtfreunde".

In October 1918, immediately after the founding of the former Czechoslovak Republic, the "Association for the Promotion of Musical Art" was forced to dissolve. The "Prague Conservatory" was Czechised and taken over by the state. The "Society of Patriotic Friends of Art" was also forced to leave with its art collections.

In April 1919, the Rudolfinum was confiscated and designated as the Chamber of Deputies. The first session of the Czech Parliament took place on 26 May 1920.

In 1921, on 15 December, the "Bohemian Savings Bank" had to sell the building to the Czech state. The large concert hall was converted into the Chamber of Deputies and the organ located there was moved to the stadium hall in Brunn. The organ console, at which an Anton Bruckner had sat, was "smashed with an axe to make way for a bust of Masaryk. The last session of Parliament took place on 16 December 1938. And today we are solemnly united in order to now finally

to consecrate this place of *German* art. At this moment, I hereby make the *following pledges*: to the artists: to always be German artists in the sense of the Reich, *for our founders*: to the way for the creators and makers of art, to give them the ideal and material conditions for a creative work detached from the day. With this in mind, tomorrow at the castle I will present three German artists with the "Prize of the Reich Protector 1941" as a reward, incentive and help.

And now please delve with me briefly into the principles of the life of the peoples with regard to the interaction anchored in them: especially the art to politics, to the race, but also to the character, to the soul and to the heart of the people of our nation.

Historic times of true greatness and true inner peace have always been followed by periods of true art and genuine skill. Historically and politically *weak* times allowed peoples to draw on the art of the greats of their time and give themselves the strength to overcome political decline. At the same time, some geniuses fought their way through and strengthened the impetus for new *political life*. Political illusory blooms, such as those at the end of the 19th century, usually also have an illusory bloom in art in their wake, because they transfer the deceptive and superficial nature of political activity to art. In times of cultural and ideological decline and rapid political change, it is all too easy for artists to take refuge in superficial forms:

The *poet* in the overtoning of the elegance of language, the *musician* in the rigour of the laws of composition or in the comfortable light music.

*of master builders, sculptors and painters* into expressionism. Unfortunately, out of material necessity, they very often slipped into dependence on the constantly changing political parties. The *Jew* has now recognised this danger for *his own purposes*. He has intensified it and made more and more art and culture alien to the folklore, the race, the heart and the soul of the people. In this region of Bohemia and Moravia, eternally bound to the Reich, the Jew has added a completely false tribal hatred to the depoliticisation of art. He inculcated Czechity with the madness of statehood and blinded it to centuries of political experience with its natural integration into the empire. Finally, he tried to turn King Wenceslas, who in truth always recognised and represented the great meaning of belonging to the empire, into a sacred symbol against the empire and against the culture of the empire. When I, as Deputy Protector of the Reich, reproduce this centre for the cultivation of the art of German culture, I am addressing a very serious warning to all artists and creators that, as Germans, they should their works from their innermost ideological beliefs, with all their heart and sincerity of character. The masters and their works are not individual figures without blood or homeland, but people who consciously or unconsciously draw their strength from the feelings of their people and the destiny of their region.

An eternal role model for you all is the greatest artist and creator, the greatest German: Adolf Hitler!

ADDRESS  
AT THE GERMAN RALLY IN THE  
PRAGUE OPERA HOUSE  
ON 15. MARCH 1942

Today's ceremony has united us for two reasons. To remember the historically decisive act of the Führer for the Reich and Bohemia-Moravia three years ago - and to express our gratitude to the fallen heroes.

Especially in difficult times full of sacrifice, German history and the heroism of those who shaped it demand that we do not celebrate such days of remembrance in a narrow and small way, but always prove ourselves worthy of true greatness. In this sense, this celebration is for us an hour of looking back, of reflection, of gathering and of looking ahead,

Historically, we want to look back into the recent past of the decline and discord of the empire, which as always - has meant times of hardship and weakness for this region and its people, even in the long term. We want to look back further, but we want to recall the successes and failures from the endless history of our empire again and again and keep them alive in us as an eternal reminder for the future.

Whether it was the time of the gathering of Germanism, or in the struggle of the emperors and popes, or the time when the German people almost bled to death in the Thirty Years' War, supposedly for the good of the faith, or the last world war or the time of the struggle of the National Socialist movement, Germany was always in danger when "it divided, led astray by foreigners, and gave up on itself. But Germany was always victorious and great when it found faith in itself, its strength, its superiority - without losing a clear sense of reality and the realisation and elimination of its own mistakes. The sacred belief in the providential power of our people has always difficult times, the cool mind and irrepressible will have put the leadership in a position to soberly master the perils.

From a historical point of view, 15 March 1939 was not only the fulfilment of the wishes of the German heart, but also the sober completion of a political necessity.

The great war we are now experiencing is the decisive battle for the existence of Greater Germany and Europe. Politically, economically and humanly, precisely because of its necessary sacrifices and burdens, it will contribute as a melting pot to deepening and completing the final integration of this area into the Reich. From a political point of view, today is therefore a day of grateful and respectful remembrance of that 15 March 1939, which laid the political and legal foundations and the beginning for the development and tasks that we, together with the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia, are willing to fulfil in the spirit of the

Reich and to complete it in accordance with the Führer's instructions.

Looking ahead, however, this day harbours a human obligation for each and every one of us, especially in its connection to the memory of heroes. Through the sacrifice of their lives, those fallen comrades sent a binding reminder to us, the living, to stand our ground tirelessly, especially in moments and times of combat and emotional stress, and to bravely overcome the small burdens of everyday life at home. In many people's hearts, faint-heartedness insidiously creeps in. It is precisely then, thinking of our heroes and believing in our beloved Führer, that must again and again find the inner strength within ourselves to use all our fighting strength for victory, for the Führer and for Germany.

*Nach notwendig gewordenem hartem Zupacken lässt es sich viel leichter gerecht und menschlich sein, als es ein ständiges Kompromissschließen vermag, das immer nur als Schwäche ausgelegt wird und daher oft zur Unbotmäßigkeit führt.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*

WALTER WANNENMACHER

REINHARD HEYDRICH

Politics stands between art and strategy. Politics and strategy have in common the planning of the path and the goal and the choice of means appropriate to the path and the goal in order to realise the planned will. Elements of strategic planning and strategic means are essentially abstract in nature; the strategist thinks in numbers, which mean troop units, differences in altitude, transport capacities, firepower, supply requirements and much more. With a single exception, the spirit of the troops, he is dealing with exact concepts, and even the unpredictable influences of enemy action and weather can be grasped as maximum and minimum factors. However, since politics presents itself as influencing the relations of groups of people orientated by will - be they peoples, parties or other entities - its planning and its means lack the exact elements. Politics operates in the area of human decision-making, i.e. where feelings usually outweigh logical considerations. That is why instinct is the decisive advisor in political planning and the choice of its means, because the abstracting mind alone is often helpless in the face of the various political and social forces.

The political sphere is even more helpless than the psychologist in exploring the secrets of mass will and individual will. To the extent that it depends on creative instinct, politics is akin to art. The artist creates the beautiful with instinctive certainty, the politician creates the suggestive. The former addresses people as recipients of impressions, the latter addresses people as bearers of will. Standing between art and strategy, politics requires both a cool understanding and a warm instinct. So it is no coincidence that great politicians always have something musical and something military about them at the same time.

This realisation is necessary in order to grasp the political work that a man of military and artistic character was able to begin in Prague, but was unable to complete: Reinhard Heydrich. He immediately recognised his goal: to positively orientate the will of the inhabitants of the Bohemian-Moravian region towards the Reich idea. His creative instinct also recognised the way and the means. Since every political will formation is somehow bound to a certain history, he immersed himself in the history of the region and found in the mission of the Bohemian King Wenceslas the historical starting point for the new imperial idea, but at the same time also in the hate-distorted view of history of Palacky that hostile cell that had blossomed in the twenty years after the First World War under Benesch, which was as seductive as it was dangerously poisonous. There could be no doubt about the clouding effect of the narcotics that had flourished in the recent past under Palacky's influence. It manifested itself in many ways: in the seemingly apathetic, impassive attitude of authoritative personalities

as well as in blind acts of sabotage committed by agitated or paid tools, in open and hidden resistance, in omissions that often weighed just as heavily as hostile acts. Heydrich recognised that although these groups a minority of the Czech people, they were a dangerous minority, because the tendency towards romantic and megalomaniac illusions had been widespread in this area since 1918, and the susceptibility to infections of this kind had to be considered high. But Benesch was paid by the precisely for spreading this source of infection, because the more people were infected, the easier would be to find saboteurs for the purposes of the British sniper strategy. Only rapid operational action could prevent the spread of the infection. Heydrich approached this operation with calm certainty. At the time, the Czechs had no idea what hesitation would have meant for them. He who, after carefully exploring all the possibilities, does what is necessary with the least sacrifice, acts humanely. Any delay in intervening would have reduced the chances of success of the operation by enlarging the centre of infection; indeed, prolonged procrastination could only have ended in a complete catastrophe for the Czech people. It was humane to avert this catastrophe in good time - and because the Czechs would have recognised this sooner or later, they sought to eliminate the successful surgeon.

Heydrich's measures against saboteurs and traffickers were intended to protect the Czech people; firstly, from exploitation as an English tool, by using a firm hand to minimise the dangers of flirting with the Benesheviks.

Secondly, from material exploitation by people who often put the glorirole of a disrupter of proper care on their private greed for enrichment.

The surgical intervention had to be followed by a period of healing. Heydrich recognised that there was only one remedy against the seduction of romantic intoxicants common sense. Thus he the persuasive power of common sense as a political tool, building on the Wenceslas tradition with its reminder of the prosperity of the Bohemian-Moravian lands at that time. If the Czechs could calmly obey common sense, they had to realise that they had every reason to be satisfied with their fate, a fate that had saved them from war, famine and destruction, that did not demand blood sacrifices from them, but only work, and well-paid work at that. What was required was not love for the Reich, but only a little reason and gratitude, expressed in active assistance with the pan-European tasks in their own interests. This is how Heydrich approached his reconstruction work, in close contact with the reality of life. He welcomed workers and peasants, he improved the supply and he saw to it that the working man could be appropriately paid, fed and clothed, as far as the possibilities created by the war it feasible; recreational free places for workers with many children were created, work shoes were distributed free of charge. After the Protectorate government was re-established, administrative reform was tackled and the concept of compulsory Czech youth service was developed, based on the consideration that young people should not be forced into the labour market.

It was not allowed to grow out of boredom and a lack of leadership if it was to produce useful and decent people. The politician Reinhard Heydrich was always aware that the formation of the will of a group of people, when it is narcotically disturbed by emotional effects, can only be brought into balance by the persuasive power of sound reason, a reason that has nothing to do with the hair-splitting intellect of a barren layer of unhappy people.

"Educated". But he also knew how to appreciate the security of a clear course in politics as the real root of all authority. Thus the passengers, whether well-intentioned or ill-intentioned, could only ever see the helmsman with the same relaxed expression on the course he had once set as the right one, without any of the tactical manoeuvring in which small minds often mistakenly see the essence of politics. They all soon began to feel that the man at the helm knew exactly where he wanted to go and that he would get his way. Providence would have it otherwise. The murderers who extinguished the life of one of the most powerful political figures of the Greater German Reich its heyday could not, however, erase the name that signifies path and goal in this room. Reinhard Heydrich's work will live on, carried by all those who today stand shaken by the tragedy of his death.

*Für die Zukunft gilt als klare Richtschnur: alles zu tun, was dem von Großdeutschland bestimmten Europa dient, und alles zu meiden und zu bekämpfen, was ihm schadet.*

*Reinhard Heydrich 28. 9. 1941*

*Unsere Aufgabe sehe ich unter der Parole „Feind allen Feinden und Hüter alles Deutschen“.*

*Reinhard Heydrich*